CURATING THE COLLECTOR: EXPLORING REPRESENTATIONS OF EARLY MODERN GERMAN WOMEN BOOK COLLECTORS (1650-1780)

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines representations of book collecting by German women in the early modern period in order to explore the role of gender in this activity. Portrayals of book collectors in the modern and early modern eras offer examples of how this identity is constructed, particularly in the underlying assumptions and expectations that determine who is defined as a book collector and what criteria are used to shape that decision. In the case of four early modern women--Elisabeth Sophie Marie of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1683-1767); Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie of Sachsen-Meiningen (1681-1766); Caroline of Ansbach (1683-1737); and Wilhelmine of Bayreuth (1709-1758)--the act of collecting is depicted as essential to their social status and an integral part of their lives. Finally, in an in-depth case study of an early modern German woman who was a book collector, Sophie of Hanover (1630-1714), this study analyzes how she represented her collecting activities and textual interaction as well as how she is represented in other texts. The way in which these early modern German women were represented and represented themselves as collectors reveals a great deal about the position of women within wider networks concerning the exchange of texts and information. The study of collecting, particularly the gendered ways in which this act is interpreted, is important for an understanding of the literary context in the early modern period, particularly the contribution of women to learning and discourses of knowledge during this time. This study seeks to understand the meaning of the act of collecting, the ways in which this act was framed, and the representation of that act by the collector, and, in doing so, to redefine the position of women in textual transmission in the early modern German context.

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INTRODUCTION: MOVING BACKWARDS, MOVING FORWARDS

Many modern writers and book owners, such as Walter Benjamin,[1] Jorge Luis Borges,[2] and Umberto Eco,[3] have written about their own interactions with and perceptions of the books that they own. For example, the writer Alberto Manguel, in his book *The Library at Night*, gives as his chapter titles the 15 different ways in which he perceives his book collection: the library as "myth, order, as space, as power, as shadow, as shape, as chance, as workshop, as mind, as island, as survival, as oblivion, as imagination, as identity, as home." In contrast, works by women writing about their interactions with libraries and books frequently construct these perceptions in very different ways. Awareness of the importance of access to textual collections, and the question of female representation in a literary context, is a common theme. Textual collections are often emotionally-charged locations of uncertainty about appropriate or acceptable activity for women. In *A Room of One's Own*, Virginia Woolf pairs many of her reflections about the inequality of women with their absence from the bookshelves. Her access to, or physical exclusion from, the world of books serves to emphasize her discussion about women and writing. Libraries and bookshelves often serve as the site and the symbol of women's exclusion from literary acknowledgement in this work. After she was refused entry to the university library at Cambridge, Woolf describes her reaction in a way that personifies the library itself: "That a famous library has been cursed by a woman is a matter of complete

[1] Benjamin's most well-known essay on the subject of collecting is "Ich packe meine Bibliothek aus" (Benjamin).

[2] The emotional resonance of books and libraries is a constant theme in Borges' works; see, for example, the short story "The Library of Babel" (1941) and the essay "The Wall and the Books" (1950) in his collection *Labyrinths: Selected Stories and Other Writings*; and the poem "Poem of the Gifts" (1960) in *Dreamtigers*, in which Borges writes that "I have always imagined Paradise as a kind of library."

[3] In his novels *The Name of the Rose* (1980) and *The Mysterious Flame of Queen Loana* (2005), Eco deals with collections of texts and how they affect those who interact with these collections. He has also written about the meaning and importance of libraries in his essays and non-fiction works; see also Winter.

indifference to a famous library. Venerable and calm, with all its treasures safe locked within its breast, it sleeps complacently and will, so far as I am concerned, so sleep for ever. Never will I wake those echoes, never will I ask for that hospitality again, I vowed as I descended the steps in anger."[4] In *Ex Libris*, her collection of essays on books and language, Anne Fadiman writes extensively on the ways in which she interacts with her books. In the essay "Marrying Libraries," she frames the act of combining her own and her husband's libraries as a humorous type of battlefield in which essential character differences are revealed about each person through their books. Fadiman is very aware of the identity issues involved in book ownership and display that are negotiated during the process of combining the two collections, which she illustrates through dichotomies: "his English-garden approach and my French-garden one" and "[o]ur transfer of books across the Mason-Dixon Line that separated my northern shelves from his southern ones."[5] The final lines of her essay--"My books and his books had become our books. We were really married"--reinforce the way she perceives her own identity reflected by the book collection that literally surrounds her.[6] It is only once the two collections are merged that she considers herself truly married. She depicts the entire situation not only as an issue of identity, but also fairness and equality; her husband deserves to have an equal representation on the walls of their apartment. Yet her husband's entropic organization soon begins "to retake the upper hand in a not entirely unwelcome fashion" (9), and the essay ends with Fadiman realizing that they have kept George's copy of a book that they both owned rather than her own beloved copy. While the essay ends on a positive note, there remains the uneasy realization that there cannot be perfect equality and representation of individual identity in a collection owned by two people.

[4] Woolf, 8. Woolf gives the location of the library simply as "Oxbridge," but the specific holdings she mentions indicate that her experience relates to the Wren Library at Trinity College in Cambridge (founded in 1695).

[5] Fadiman, 5-6.

[6] Fadiman, 10.

The novelist A.S. Byatt deals extensively with the relationship of gender in literary recognition and textual interaction in her novel *Possession: A Romance* (1990). In *Possession,* one of the major themes is the question of legitimacy in textual ownership. Physical as well as intellectual ownership is thematized throughout the work: the book begins with the theft of a letter from an archive and ends with a dramatic grave-robbing scene in which the grave of a famous poet is torn open to reveal the inflammatory documents placed in his coffin by his wife. Byatt uses a wide array of texts--letters, diaries, scholarly and critical works, biographies, reference sources, wills, poems, official reports--to offset the third-person narrative that presents the characters and events. Ownership of these texts, and the right to work with them and to gain access to them, is understood by all to be a constant literal and figurative battlefield in which all the female characters in particular must fight for recognition and acceptance. Byatt often deals with issues of gender in her works, and she is particularly intrigued by the ways in which modes of thinking have changed from one period of time to another. In one discussion of *Possession,* Byatt states that she deliberately worked to create "a narrative shape which would explore the continuities and discontinuities between the forms of nineteenth- and twentieth-century art and thought."[7] Byatt's choice to contrast two very different contexts--England in 1850-1860 and in 1987--and to use textual artifacts as a means to highlight the ways in which attitudes shifted between them demonstrates how important it is to recognize how the established assumptions and models of one time period (or location, or situation) are hardly as permanent as they may appear.

Within the field of literary analysis concerning the collecting of books and texts, gender and identity remains an uneasy topic. The general definition of collecting and broader

[7] Campbell, 107.

explorations of book collectors do not appear to have shifted, outside of certain specific contexts, to reflect an awareness that women also collect and perceive themselves as collectors. Works that reflect gender as a topic often involve an autobiographical element. For example, in her study of the collector and book thief John Gilkey, Allison Hoover Bartlett describes her own experiences with the world of modern-day book collectors, noting on several occasions that this world appears to be male, mostly older, and primarily Caucasian.[8] Bartlett describes her growing knowledge of book collecting from the perspective of an outsider who is unsure of her position. Her conclusions about the world of book-collecting focus on questions of identity, particularly since Gilkey is a book thief who sees himself as a collector. He lacks remorse for his thefts and sees himself as completely justified in his "collecting" since the books he assembles find their proper home with him. The booksellers who are victims of his theft emphatically do not share his opinion of himself as a collector; to them, he is clearly a conman who preys upon their trust and who is in direct opposition to what they view as a positive community of booksellers, book buyers, and librarians. Bartlett's analysis explores both points-of-view without definitively rejecting either one, raising questions about the origins of identity and about how it is defined and by whom. Her exploration of this construction of the identity of a book collector is particularly intriguing because she herself is so definite about her own position as an outsider in this world. While she identifies herself as someone who loves and owns books, she does not see herself as a collector. Gilkey, the controversial and unrepentant book thief, exists in a separate category of identity, one which Bartlett appears specifically to relate to gender when she

[8] Bartlett also draws attention to the "racial issue" when she describes her interactions with two collectors, Celia Sack and Joseph Serrano (a young man of Hispanic descent): "Being a woman and under forty set Sack apart from most book collectors, but I had come across others who didn't fit the mold, either. […] It occurred to me how unusual it is to see a person of color at a rare book fair or store. This has been an old-white-man's game for a long time, but it appeared, at that moment, that perhaps things were changing" (112).

describes the entire spectrum of ways in which women in official and prominent positions are perceived to interact with books and texts.

Collecting has traditionally been a men's game, but changes are afoot, according to dealer Priscilla Juvelis of Kennebunkport, Maine. As she observed in an interview with Bartlett:

> There was always this group of profoundly wealthy people, some of whom happened to be women, who collected books because that's what people with inherited money did […]. What has changed dramatically is that when I started in 1980 there were no women who were heads of libraries' special collections, with very few exceptions. And there weren't women rare book librarians […]. Now there are women heads of special collections. There are women faculty members who insist on teaching Harriet Beecher Stowe as something other than a curiosity […]. There are a number of women collectors out there who want to collect women authors, writings on women's rights, and the women collectors I have sold these materials to have money of their own, disposable incomes […] The atmosphere has changed dramatically.[9]

As Juvelis describes it, the world of book collecting extends beyond the bookseller and the book buyer to include university faculty and the course curriculum at the college level, those in decision-making positions at major institutions, and the public perception of which materials are valuable and desirable objects to collect. As she points out, the exercise of economic buying power in the form of "disposable incomes" is a major driving force in raising awareness about female authors, texts by or about topics related to women's issues since dealers are primarily interested in selling their materials. Women with access to financial resources have always collected, yet the situation Juvelis describes refers to wider recognition on all levels of women as

[9] Bartlett 22, footnote 7.

agents of cultural preservation and policy-makers on a broader scale. When women are involved in these decisions, and in prominent positions backed by financial resources, the atmosphere of book collecting will adapt to include matters relevant to women. There is a great deal of uncertainty about the position and identity of female collectors in Bartlett's work. Gilkey, in contrast, has a much easier time in defining himself as a book collector: he declares himself to be one, and Bartlett never definitively rejects this identification.

Within the German context, the situation is complicated by linguistic issues as well as social issues. The foreword to *Sammler und Bibliotheken im Wandel der Zeiten,* a volume of essays from a conference in 2010 that focused on precisely the topic of how the collector and library has changed over time, highlights the absence of women in these discussions of collecting.[10] In her introductory essay, "Von Sammlern, Büchern, Bibliotheken, einem Bibliotheksdirektor und Vorträgen—eine Einführung" ("Of Collectors, Books, Libraries, a Library Director and Presentations—An Introduction"), Sünje Prühlen points to the gender-differential that continues to exist when she self-referentially examines her own linguistic usage and that of her context. Prühlen has chosen to favor the masculine plural "Sammlern" ("collectors"), here in the dative case, over other possible forms such as "Sammlerinnen" or "SammlerInnen," which include both genders, in her title. In discussing this decision, she thematizes the gender divide in discussions of collecting:

> I indeed belong to the generation that no longer takes the issue of feminine word endings so seriously, much to the frustration of its emancipated predecessors. Although we women supposedly have collecting in the blood, so to speak, as though genetically pre-programmed, this time I consciously chose the masculine ending in the title. In reviewing

[10] See Prühlen.

> the following volume you will understand my decision. Women play a peripheral role, despite this predisposition. Men as collectors clearly dominate here. Or is it not about collectors in a true sense? Perhaps men are following their natural role as hunters and collecting books and writings is merely the logical consequence of their hunting instinct--practiced in antique shops, at auctions, and through booksellers of this world? Or does male bibliophily originate in completely different contexts?[11]

Prühlen draws attention to the peripheral role of women in discussions of collecting by explicitly thematizing her choice of the masculine pronoun and by placing it in a specific context: present-day experiences and perceptions. As a woman who is well aware of the effect of language usage and its social implications--although, despite her "pioneering female predecessors," she claims to take the use of gender in word endings in German less seriously--Prühlen justifies her decision to use the masculine plural form "Sammler" in her title by defending its accuracy. It describes the actual situation present in discussions of collecting. The reader is directly addressed in apologetic terms ("Sie [werden] mich verstehen") and with questions about why this situation might be the case, but she never questions that it exists. Prühlen takes as a given that there is a gender divide within the field of collecting.

The attitude that women are the eternal exception to the tradition of collecting is exemplified in Manfred Sommer's *Sammeln. Ein philosophischer Versuch* (1999), which grudgingly admits the possibility of women as collectors, but as his language makes clear, they

[11] Prühlen, 11. My translation of the original German: "Ich gehöre schon zu der Generation, die es mit den weiblichen Endungen sehr zum Ärger ihrer emanzipatorischen Vorkämpferinnen nicht mehr so genau nimmt. Obwohl uns Frauen das Sammeln sozusagen im Blut liegen soll, gleichsam genetisch vorprogrammiert, habe ich dieses Mal bewusst die männliche Endung in der Überschrift gewählt. Bei der Durchsicht des folgenden Bandes werden Sie mich verstehen. Frauen spielen trotz ihrer Veranlagung eher eine Nebenrolle. Es dominieren hier eindeutig die Männer als Sammler. Oder handelt es sich hier gar nicht um Sammler im eigentlichen Sinne? Vielleicht gehen die Männer ihrer natürlichen Aufgabe als Jäger nach und das Sammeln von Büchern und Schriften ist nur die logische Konsequenz ihres Jagdinstinktes--ausgelebt in Antiquariaten, auf Auktionen und bei Buchhändlern dieser Welt? Oder entspringt die männliche Bibliophile aus ganz anderen Zusammenhängen?"

forever remain outside the spectrum of what he considers to be the acceptable standard. In addition to his exclusive usage of the male form "Sammler" and male pronoun "er" to describe the collector, Sommer uses condescending tones to discuss the possible presence of "women" in collecting: "In principle it is correct to localize women nearer to the center on the continuum of collecting. But the situation is more complicated, as can hardly be expected otherwise with women."[12] Sommer's opinion of what he calls the application of "feminism" in collecting is perhaps best illuminated in an earlier passage, when he writes that in discussing the term "Jäger und Sammler" ("hunter and gatherer"), one is immediately confronted with all kinds of "Rousseauian and feministic rubbish" ("so sieht man sich alsbald mit allerlei rousseauistischem und feministischem Schrott konfrontiert").[13] He describes the current state of scholarship in cultural anthropology, "particularly at some American universities," as ruled by trends that treat gender as an ideological battleground between the "bad male hunter" and the "good female gatherer."[14] This is the only passage in his book that explicitly discusses the topic of gender in collecting, although it pervades his text. While Sommer's attitudes and assumptions about gender implicitly shape his work, he fails to reflect on this bias and presents himself as an objective authority.

For Sommer, women, as a collective group, are defined by their gender, rather than by social class, nationality, or other characteristics, and there is always a distinction to be drawn between collectors and women. Women, in fact, are more closely aligned with the passive objects to be collected than the active collectors themselves. When Sommer speculates about the origin and development of money from previous metal to paper, he places beautiful women as

[12] Sommer, 92. "Grundsätzlich ist es zwar richtig, in jenem Kontinuum die Frau näher am Sammel-Pol zu lokalisieren. Aber die Sachlage wird, wie bei Frauen kaum anders zu erwarten, noch komplizierter."

[13] Sommer, 87.

[14] Sommer, 90.

commodities in his list of economically-valuable objects: "Initially there were only objects of exchange such as wine and grains, weapons and tools, precious stones and beautiful women" ("Es gibt zunächst nur Tauschobjekte wie Wein und Getreide, Waffen und Werkzeuge, edle Steine und schöne Frauen").[15] It is one thing to dismiss women as a group as "objects of exchange" in an earlier period, however objectionable this phasing may seem, thus excluding all women from active participation in economic exchange, but Sommer's description and his work in general somehow never moves beyond the description of women as a group set apart from the presumably "universal" theories of collecting he describes. The collection is the object of the collector's affection, and in Sommer's construction, it is difficult to insert a female collector into his representations of collectors that does not come into conflict with the way in which collectors in general are depicted.[16]

Even in the way in which objects can be transported, which forms one of Sommer's central concepts of collecting, Sommer turns the female body into another type of object.[17] In his discussion of "Nehmen und Umkehren" ("Taking and Returning") in a section about "Körpertaschen" ("body pockets"), Sommer reveals his concept of the ways in which objects can be transported and the symbolic meaning of pockets.

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[15] Sommer, 128.

[16] Sommer, 266. In one passage, Sommer describes the relationship between a collector and a collection in amorous terms: "Der Sammler ist der Liebhaber seiner Sammlung; sie ist sein Schatz; er hängt an ihr; sie bedeutet sein Glück; ihr gehört sein Herz; er pflegt sie, schützt sie, umsorgt sie; ihr opfert er Zeit und Kraft und Geld. Zusammengefaßt besagt das: er liebt sie." This section depends on the juxtaposition of male collector and feminized collection for its rhetoric effect. Inserting the female collector into these sentences leads to a stylistically awkward construction that is also confusing: "*Die Sammlerin* ist *die Liebhaberin ihrer* Sammlung; sie ist *ihr* Schatz; *sie* hängt an ihr; sie bedeutet *ihr* Glück; ihr gehört *ihr* Herz; *sie* pflegt sie, schützt sie, umsorgt sie; ihr opfert *sie* Zeit und Kraft und Geld. Zusammengefaßt besagt das: *sie* liebt sie." Since both the German terms for the female collector and the collection use the feminine pronouns "sie" and "ihr," there is an ambiguity that arises from statements such as "sie liebt sie" that confuses the distinction between subject and object, between the collector and the collected, that is not possible in the phrase "er liebt sie."

[17] Sommer, 279.

> But there are also pockets that realize the secret ideal to which the pockets on and in the clothes only refer. For the female collector who has taken something and wants to keep it without burdening her hand, it is precisely those bodily-internal containers in which she can put something from outside in order to keep it safe, that must be interesting. It is complicated to keep her nose and ears closed: she must hold them shut with her hand. Thus to her there remains three "pockets" that are accessible from outside as well as closeable, which, in his objective and rational manner, the doctor labels oral, rectal, and vaginal.[18]

To be a woman and to collect, in Sommer's depiction of the world of collecting, is to be defined by contradictions. Here, in one of a very few uses of the feminine term "Sammlerin" ("female collector") in Sommer's work, the female collector is always determined by her gender to the point of symbolically being defined by her body, specifically her vagina. The male collector does not appear here to explore the possibility of his oral and rectal body "pockets" to store his collected objects, yet this precise quality which would seem to argue in favor of female collectors (with their additional "pocket" that sets them apart from male collectors) is used to exclude them. Women are defined by their bodies, and although, according to this passage, those bodies are more suited to collecting than male bodies, women cannot move beyond the limits that are formed by their bodies.

One modern representation of an exclusively masculine paradigm of the specific context of book collecting is found in another recent work, Philipp Blom's *To Have and To Hold: An*

[18] Sommer, 279. "Aber es gibt dann auch Taschen, die das realisieren, worauf die Taschen an und in den Kleidern wir auf ihr geheimes Ideal nur verweisen. Für die Sammlerin, die sich etwas genommen hat und es behalten möchte, ohne die Hand damit zu belasten, müssen gerade diejenigen körpereigenen Behältnisse interessant sein, in die sie von außen etwas hineintun kann, um es dort unter Verschluß aufzubewahren. Bei ihrer Nase und ihren Ohren hapert es vor allem mit dem Zumachen: diese muß sie zuhalten, und zwar mit ihrer Hand. Demnach bleiben ihr noch drei von außen zugängliche und doch verschließbare >Taschen<, welche der Mediziner in seiner sachlich-nüchternen Art als oral, rektal und vaginal qualifiziert."

Intimate History of Collectors and Collecting (2002), which, as the title suggests, frames collecting as a type of marriage. The final sentences of Blom's work draw attention to this connection, which he analyzes through the image of Death and the Maiden, in which the Maiden represents "the promise of love" and the dual desires of pursuit and fulfillment that find expression in collecting, while Death represents the futility of all human endeavors, including collecting. Blom's spectator, who is male, is drawn into this tableau, but he is not alone: "With him is the collector who has wed himself to his possessions. To have and to hold, as *The Book of Common Prayer* Marriage Vow has it, from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, to Death us do part."[19] The active participant in Blom's marriage vow is male, and for him, this marriage is presented as a choice. The feminine figure of the Maiden may symbolize the human desires that for Blom are realized through collecting but she herself remains passive and silent. Since the marriage vow cannot include more than two participants, the collection is in direct competition with a human bride. There is no possibility of an equivalent "bride" who marries herself to her collection.

Blom's study of collecting frames this activity as masculine throughout, which he explicitly thematizes in a wide array of associations and assumptions, ranging from the superiority of the "male psyche" in contributions to all areas of civilization to the ethical background of the American and German space programs to autism to fishing practices, in a passage that is worth scrutinizing in its entirety:

> It is not incidental that this paragraph uses male pronouns only,[20] for there is a marked difference between female and male collectors. Although overall slightly more women describe themselves as collectors, the majority of those whose lives are taken over by

[19] Blom, 231. Although Blom is himself German, he wrote *To Have and To Hold* in English, so the use of the masculine pronoun throughout cannot be attributed to a decision made in translating the work.

[20] Blom uses the masculine singular pronoun almost without exception throughout his study. He does use the construction "his or her collection" once when discussing the erotic elements of conquest and possession (216).

their collections, who live for it and are dominated by its demands, are men. […] If for the last 3,000 years women had dominated Western societies and had relegated men to the position of useful if brutish servants and occasional lovers, our world might be very much more happy, more harmonious and more medieval. The single-minded pursuit of one *idée fixe* to the exclusion of everything else, and the accompanying phenomena of isolation, fierce competition, the overpowering will to win, an atrophying of empathy, seem to be associated with the male psyche. It takes a certain mind-set to devote one's entire life to the development of a modified watch movement that is slightly more accurate or can withstand a little more shaking. This tunnel-vision mentality has spurned the technical inventions as well as wars (indeed, many inventions useful to us are a byproduct of warfare.) Both great innovations and encyclopaedic collections take a mind prepared to live in seclusion and just keep chipping away at the impossibility of the task. The male of the species seems not yet to have emerged entirely out of the proverbial garden shed, the only place in which some men seem to be comfortable and truly to be themselves, left to whatever hobby they have taken up as an excuse for being alone. One of the founding fathers of the American space programme, Werner von Braun, had gained his rocket-building expertise in Nazi Germany designing the V1 and V2 missiles used to bomb London. In pursuing his obsession with rocket flight he was oblivious to (or simply uninterested in) whether he was in the American desert researching to put a man on the moon in the name of freedom and democracy, or whether he was working for Hitler and exploiting slave labourers killed by the thousand. It takes this mind-set, its voluntary seclusion and single-minded pursuit of one goal and one goal only, to keep on going oblivious of the consequences. Men seem to be more comfortable with, or more in need of, the hunt, and with the business of conquest and possession, with the loneliness of the task and with submission to its demands, with social and intellectual hierarchies. Military metaphors come to mind when describing such arrangements: an army of things, objects regimented on the shelves, all lined up like soldiers. The mirror image of this obsession is the painstaking identification and strict classification of objects into hierarchies and systems. The characteristics of emotional paucity and the language of collecting overlap in many ways: holding on to one's feelings, bottling up, being retentive, not letting go. The whole phenomenon of retreat into a world of predictable patterns and away from an environment of social complexity and competing claims for attention and for love brings to mind autism, and, indeed, the majority of those suffering from this condition are boys and men. While the autistic spectrum reaches from mild eccentricity to severe disability, one clinical condition in particular, Asperger's Syndrome, the least severe of the autistic disorders, serves to illustrate this point. This syndrome is characterized by a whole range of symptoms: a resistance to change, relying on repeating patterns, stilted speech, immersion into arcane topics, such as transport timetables, which assume great importance, and collecting series of objects worthless to others. While the most severe form of autism shows only a slight male bias in the distribution of cases, at the highest ability levels, at the most 'normal' and functional end of the spectrum, the ratio can be as high as fifteen to one. This, of course, is not to say that collecting is inherently autistic any more than it is inherently male, or that collectors cannot be rounded human beings with thriving personal relationships, but the similarity is

> arresting and can be transferred to other predominantly male activities. How many woman anglers can one count sitting by the river alone on any given day?[21]

This is a passage from well-reviewed and popular book on collecting.[22] Taken on its own, Blom's dismissal of the viability of women as collectors, although at the same time writing that they themselves identify themselves as collectors more often than men do, is contradictory, both in this passage and throughout the rest of the book.[23] His broad extrapolation from autism to collecting to rocket science to hunting to fishing is highly problematic, as is his comment about the ways in which a world dominated by women would differ from the present reality (what, exactly, is implied by a "more happy, more harmonious and more medieval" world?). Yet Blom's work reveals a deeper bias in his construction of collecting: the idea that women cannot be real or serious collectors, although they own collections and identify themselves as collectors, and even when they collect the same objects as men. The identity of the book or text collector excludes women as a matter of course, as an unexamined but firmly established belief that remains unquestioned.

The examples above, all taken from the modern American-European context of works concerning collecting, demonstrate that gender is a relevant and present issue within the modern discussions of book collecting. They also show how it shapes the way in which book collecting is discussed, whether implicitly or explicitly. Yet our perspective in our own time and place

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[21] Blom, 169-171.

[22] On his website, Blom lists positive reviews from *The New York Times Book Review*, the *Times Literary Supplement*, and the *Financial Times* (http://www.philipp-blom.eu/html/Books_02.html). The listing on Amazon.com lists positive reviews from *Publisher's Weekly, The New Yorker, Booklist,* and the *Sunday Telegraph.*

[23] For example, Blom writes about the symbolic value of objects and their meaning for their collector: "How significant is it that someone who was locked up in a Stalinist labour camp for five years starts collecting keys, that a woman surrounds herself with dolls, recordings of matinee idols or Princess Diana memorabilia or teapots […]? (And, what, inversely, does it indicate that one hardly ever finds a man collecting dolls or embroidery samples, a woman devoting her life to machine tools and steam engines?)" (165). Directly after the passage dismissing women as collectors, Blom interviews a former fisherman who collects, among other objects, "hundreds of Barbie dolls" (171). There are many more such examples.

necessarily shapes our understanding of the identity of the book collector. In looking at collecting and issues of information curation and exchange in other contexts, the observations and assumptions we make about gender issues and roles in our own times should also be placed under examination rather than blindly applied to other contexts.

As Jon Thiem has shown in his analysis, "Humanism and Bibliomania: Transfigurations of King Ptolemy and his Library in Renaissance Literature," representations of a book collector shift depending on the context. Thiem uses the very different depictions of the Library of Alexandria and of its founder Ptolemy Philadelphus that appear in writers from the classical to the early modern era to demonstrate how this figure has been used and reappropriated to serve different purposes.[24] Ptolemy could serve as a model of the "learned prince" for classical sources such as Livy; as the patron of the Septuagint, he could be viewed as divinely inspired by the early Christians; the humanists such as Petrarch and Boccaccio glorified and perpetuated the ideal of the princely scholar; Brant attacked Ptolemy as a foolish collector; and the "morality" of Ptolemy's collecting became the target of Le Roy and Browne. After the fifteenth century, the library collection, rather than its collector, became the center of attention, and the figure of its creator moved to a footnote.[25] The library became its own entity, more famous in its destruction than in its existence: "[t]he fame of the destroyer of the library eclipses that of its founder, and the destruction of human memory becomes more memorable than the great collecting achievement of Philadephos."[26] Thus Ptolemy moves from the center to the margin in successive

[24] Ptolemy Philadelphus (309-246 BCE) is one figure often associated with the founding of the Library at Alexandria, although Lerner, for example, credits Ptolemy I (367-283BCE) (Lerner, 26-29). Thiem's list of writers includes Seneca, Sir Walter Raleigh, the medieval historian Orosius (the first to relate the story of the library's destruction at the hands of Julius Caesar), Aristeas (who described the story of the Septuagint), Josephus, Tertullian, Isidorus, Livy, Richard de Bury, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Sebastian Brant, John Lydgate, Louis le Roy, Thomas Browne, Rousseau, Gibbon, Mercier, Burckhardt, and George Bernard Shaw.

[25] Thiem, 241.

[26] Thiem, 241.

representations. By removing a human creator, a human origin, from the library, the collection takes on its own life and its own identity--this decontextualized entity stands independently as its own symbol. The library no longer exists as a subjectively human creation, reflecting the biases and preferences of its creator, but instead it is represented as a universal, neutral and objective, concrete object or thing that arose as if through an inevitable process. The difficult decision of selection and exclusion is nonexistent because the ideal of this library is to contain it all, but what the "all" actually includes is not specified and can never be specified. Indeed, if it could be named and quantified, it would not be universal. The ideal of a universal collection contrasts with the idea of a collector, since a collector must inevitably stamp the collection with a personality, a selection, and a set of guiding principles or rules that determine its shape. All libraries are determined by the policies of their founders and owners, and by the decisions made by subsequent owners or caretakers. To ignore this fact is to ignore the subjectivity of the cultural record. In Borges' story "The Library of Babel," the library is an eternally unchanging and infinitely vast entity that shapes the lives of its users but there is no perceptible or perceivable agency at work. The reality of our collections is precisely the opposite. All of the world's great research collections, and all of the collections in general, are shaped by personal preferences and individual factors. One example of precisely this influence is the founder of the Bodleian library, Sir Thomas Bodley (1545-1613), who wanted to systematically exclude certain texts as part of his library's official acquisition policy: "Sir Thomas Bodley was prejudiced against plays, proclamations and almanacks, and he argued with Dr. James (his first Librarian) against these coming into his Library at Oxford, calling them *riffe-raffe* and *baggage bookes;* and there were *many pamphlets, not worth the custody in suche a Librarie;* some plays, he thought, might be worth keeping, *but hardly one in fortie*, and having those few, (*suche is the*

nature of malicious reporters) *would be mightily multiplied by suche as purpose to speake in disgrace of the Librarie;* if he erred in that opinion he thought he would *erre with infinit others.*"[27] If the Bodleian had adhered to this policy permanently, it would have significantly shaped the resources available to scholars.

By ignoring the origins of our scholarly resources, we ignore the possibility of alternative perspectives and points of view. One of many concrete examples of the ways in which acquisition policy is applied on an individual level, and how our perceptions of institutional collections as fixed and permanent can be misleading, is discussed in Nicholson Baker's book *Double Fold: Libraries and the Assault on Paper* (2001). Baker draws attention to the collection and preservation policies of many significant research libraries, such as the treatment of newspapers and the decision to increase digital collections in favor of hardcopy holdings. Baker champions the preservation of hardcopy in addition to the digital copy, but he sees himself as an activist in the race against the rush to discard paper copies.

One example of the way in which the identity of the book collector can shift even over relatively short periods of time, and why accepted definitions of one time period or context involving gendered constructions should be re-examined, is shown in an article in 1948 by John Carter, author of numerous influential reference sources on book collecting, in which he outlines his definition of the ideal book collector:

> The book-collector, then, is not just an eccentric who prefers one edition to another for some ritually compulsive reason. He is not a man who says simply "the old is better" or who thinks that rarity is an objective in itself. It is not even enough to say that he is a man who is not as well satisfied with a photographic reproduction of the original, or a roll of

[27] Jackson, vol. 1, 239.

> microfilm, or a well-edited verbatim reprint, as with the genuine article. He is rather a man (or of course a woman, though bibliophily, like dandyism, is less common among women) who has a reverence for, and a desire to possess, the original or some other specifically admirable, curious or interesting edition of a book he loves or respects or one which has a special place among his intellectual interests. And the book must be either in its original state or in some contemporary, associative or otherwise appropriate condition. Furthermore, he enjoys, with a degree of intensity which will vary according to his temperament, his training and the standards of his fellow-bibliophiles, that exercise of his natural and intellectual faculties which is involved in the application of observation, knowledge, ingenuity, foresight, enterprise and persistence to the pursuit of his quarry, its scrutiny and appraisal when found, its use and perhaps formal description when secured.[28]

In this definition, the default collector is explicitly defined as male ("He is rather a man"), with the woman who collects relegated to a parenthetical aside. Carter uses the term "dandyism," which has since fallen out of common usage, without pausing to reflect that even in his own context the word "dandy" or "a man who affects extreme elegance in clothes and manners; a fop" actually refers to a characteristic that is often coded as feminine.[29] Carter was not the first to use dandyism as though it had a standard and universally understood meaning in the context of book collecting, since it appears earlier in such works as Octave Uzanne's *The*

[28] Carter, xxii.

[29]See "dandy," in the *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. The *Collins English Dictionary* defines it as "a man greatly concerned with smartness of dress; a beau." The *Oxford English Dictionary*, however, defines this term as "one who studies above everything to dress elegantly and fashionably; a beau, fop, 'exquisite'" without acknowledging the gendered nature of the word, which is used exclusively to describe men.

Book-Hunter in Paris (1895).[30] Yet in a work that appeared just eighteen years before Carter's definition, this term appears in a different setting. In Holbrook Jackson's influential work on book collecting *The Anatomy of Bibliomania* (1930), there is an entire subsection devoted to "Bibliopegic Dandyism," which he uses to refer specifically to the love of unusual and novel bindings (an aspect which is absent from Carter's definition). In the subsection "Books Bound in Human Skin," Jackson notes that this inclination can lead to the desire for unusual and even taboo objects: "Many bibliopegic dandies are so perverse that they are well pleased with nothing but what is ordinarily inaccessible to others [...]. Some few amongst them seek to have at least one book bound in *human skin*, which they immoderately extol above all others."[31] Jackson lists historical examples of these "dandies" in his section on "Bibliopegic Dandyism" and includes Adam Smith; Henri III of France; the character of Des Esseintes in Huysmans' novel *A Rebours;* Dorian Gray in Oscar Wilde's *A Portrait of Dorian Gray*; Lucian de Rosny; Henry VIII (who "became a dandy of gloom" after the death of his fiancée and sought solace in his books); Melissenda, the Countess of Anjou; Catherine de Medici; Diane de Poitiers; Marguerite de Valois; King John of France; Cardinal Wolsey; and Queen Elisabeth, whose preferences he extols at length.[32] Leaving out the two fictional characters, his list includes eleven individuals, of whom five are women. Jackson includes these names in his list of bibliographic "dandies" without explaining why he has selected these names in particular as his examples. The term "dandy" itself applies to men only, yet Jackson's list of bibliopegic dandies includes multiple

[30] Uzanne, xxii: "Torn and damp and soiled, some squally day this book, now so trim in its bibliophilic dandyism, will reach you: and then, probably for the first time, you may read it as you sit on your lowly seats on the breezy quays, vaguely conscious of the hasty footsteps on the asphalt, and the fragments of mundane dialogue borne to you on the wind."

[31] Jackson, vol. 2, 89.

[32] Jackson, vol. 2, 85-88.

women and is concerned with attractive outward appearances of book bindings.[33] Jackson's inclusion here is itself at odds with other passages in his work, in which he describes collecting as masculine.[34] *The Anatomy of Bibliomania* includes a lengthy discussion of male writers who frame their books as marital and sexual partners.[35] Carter's use of the term "dandyism" demonstrates his assumption that the identity of the book collector is predominantly masculine. Both writers are using a term that has now fallen out of common use to describe a concept they see as universal and unchanging, and both writers exclude women as a matter of course in their discussions of the universal and unchanging nature of book collecting.

Gender and gender roles appear as an explicit theme in other works on book collecting. Georg Ruppelt's article on the literary motif of the publisher, a figure who is heavily involved in textual interaction, notes that in German novels from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the decision to become a book dealer is often portrayed as a type of marriage, specifically as a type of "love-match" ("Liebesheirat"), that compensates for other disappointments and failures, although not necessarily romantic disappointments.[36] In his essay on the anthropology of collecting, Justin Stagl frames the collection in direct opposition to the collector's family, and the collector's wife as a victim who can either vengefully oppose the collection's dominance over her husband or else join in her husband's relationship with his collection as a "co-collector"

[33] Jackson's description also includes a national element, as when he frames book collecting as French: "Many examples come from England, but more from France" (Jackson, vol. 2, 85).

[34] See, for example, Jackson's section on "The Jealous Bookman," in which he discusses multiple male bibliophiles who are searching for the impossible in the object of their affection, "for women and books are symbols of some exquisitely imagined bliss which remains exquisite, Heaven itself, because it cannot be captured or reached" (Jackson, vol. 2, 385).

[35] See the following sections in volume 2 of Jackson: "Wedded to Books," "The Undying Flame," "The Jealous Bookman," "Of the Polybiblious," and "Bibliophily Triumphant."

[36] Ruppelt, 88: "In den Romanen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, in denen Buchhändler oder Antiquare vorkommen, lassen sich einige stets wiederkehrende Motive finden. So wird die Wahl des Buchhändlerberufes oft als eine "Liebesheirat" zwischen dem lesefreudigen Jüngling (weibliche Buchhändler spielen in der älteren Literatur kaum eine Rolle) und dem "Geistträger" Buch beschrieben. Oft war diese "Ehe" freilich erst die zweite Wahl […] Der Buchhändlerberuf wird so nicht selten als Ersatz für fehlgeschlagene andere Ambitionen ergriffen."

("Mitsammlerin").[37] Here the collection is framed as a type of mistress, and the collector's wife has the grim options of either pursuing a policy of open warfare or else entering into this *ménage à trois* as the subordinate member. The wife is not and cannot be a collector in her own right (a "Sammlerin" rather than merely a "Mitsammlerin") with her own independent collection; her husband is the controlling and dominant partner in their relationship and in the world of collecting.

The idea that these two assumptions are indeed universals--the identity of the book collector, and the use of gender as a dividing category (whether conscious or unconsciously applied)--is called into question in a work by Willa Silverman, *The New Bibliopolis: French Book Collectors and the Culture of Print 1880-1914* (2008). Silverman specifically engages the issue of gender and book collecting in Chapter Six: "The Enemies of Books? Women and the Bibliophilic Imagination." She cites numerous French critics and writers, such as Octave Uzanne, Paul Eudel, Bernard-Henri Gausseron, Léon-Félix de Labessade, Paul Verlaine, and others, who formed "a shrill chorus intent on proclaiming the natural enmity between women and books" at the turn of the twentieth century in France which became influential in the perception of the tradition of book collecting.[38] Silverman traces a strain of discourse dealing with women as the enemies of books beginning with de Bury's *Bibliophon* (1344), but she writes that it expanded considerably in scope during the period she examines and was "particularly pervasive among both European and American book collectors during the last decades of the

[37] Stagl, 50: "Ein Sonderproblem stellen hier die *Familienangehörigen* der Sammler dar. […] Den Angehörigen entzieht die Sammlung Geld, Platz, Zeit und Aufmerksamkeit […] Sammlerfrauen haben meiner Erfahrung nach zwei, oder besser vielleicht zweieinhalb, Optionen. Sie können die Sammlung entweder mit stillem, hartnäckigem Haß verfolgen oder aber, in einer art *folie à deux*, zur Mitsammlerin werden. Dann gibt es noch das ambivalente Schwanken zwischen beiden Optionen."

[38] Silverman, 166.

nineteenth century."[39] This rising discourse of separation in which women were vocally rejected as active participants in the world of books and texts also repositioned them as passive objects of desire within it: it "coexisted with another one, that, paradoxically, designated the material book not as inimical to women but in fact *as* women themselves, to the extent that both were perceived as objects of physical desire and possession, even fetishes."[40] Just as Sommers frames women as passive objects in his list of exchange objects, these turn-of-the-century writers equate women with collections. Both are to be pursued, and both are incapable of equal participation in the pursuit. Women and books cannot serve simultaneously as active subject and as passive object, and therefore they are relegated to the role of passive object alone. Silverman notes that this discourse led to the construction of book collecting as an inherently masculine activity,[41] which found new expression in the self-reflexive literature on book collecting and its role in building homosocial bonds between male book collectors.[42]

Silverman places this attitude in the context of a nineteenth-century shift in the perception of books within French culture, specifically as a response to the increase in active female readership in the non-noble classes. The growing public perception of women as readers and active participants led to the connection of female reading and textual interaction with feminine domesticity, while male interaction with books, in the construction of the masculine writers Silverman surveys, took on other characteristics.[43] The dichotomy of "woman versus

[39] Silverman, 166.

[40] Silverman, 166-167.

[41] Silverman, 167. "In the end, however, this double discourse tended inevitably toward a truism advanced by all these writings: bibliophilia was an exclusively masculine pursuit."

[42] Silverman, 167. "The pleasure to be derived from talking and writing about books for (male) book lovers seemed to match, even surpass, the one derived from the (female) books themselves."

[43] Silverman, 171-172. "A culture of women's reading and specifically female reading practices developed in tandem with the immense growth of a female reading public in nineteenth-century France. This growth was itself in part a product of both educational reforms [...] and technological advances responsible for an influx of inexpensive

books," and the propagation of a "natural enmity" between them, was linked not only to the gender of the reader and collector, but also to the purpose and genre of the text itself. Works such as expensive fine-press books with beautiful bindings were seen as "collector's books," while cookbooks and newspapers were not.

To Silverman's writers, the contemporary publication of such works as Beauchart's *Les femmes bibliophiles,* which listed examples of well-known women who collected, did not dispel this dichotomy of woman versus book, since, for them, social context was a decisive factor that outweighed gender. Noblewomen, particularly in the past, were exceptions to their dichotomy since their gender was less important than their social class:

> As [Octave] Uzanne noted, a noblewoman's books were the marks 'of her good works and her fine intelligence.' Moreover, the book-collecting practices of these grandes dames surely reflected their class background rather than their gender. [...] For this reason, Uzanne asserted that a real tradition of women bibliophiles died in 1789 along with the *ancien régime.* Royal women who in the past collected *livres de luxe*--18,000 of them in the case of Anne de Rohan--and then had them bound with their arms and stored in majestic cases, did so not out of interest in their content but because book collecting was a respectable and expected upper-class activity.[44]

Uzanne, one of the most virulent misogynists in this circle, known for his antagonistic views on women and books, is willing to include noblewomen who lived before 1789 as book collectors,

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printed materials. But such practices are also inscribed in the bourgeois culture of domesticity, and in the ideology of separate spheres for men and women. The value placed on female domesticity in the nineteenth century encouraged female literacy both for utilitarian ends (in order to read cookbooks, etiquette manuals, almanacs, or advertisements, for example) and for the purposes of leisure, amusement, and evasion.[...] In contrast to the image of the solitary male reader, indulging his passion for books in guilty privacy, female readership was often, although hardly always, shared and collective--*feuilletons* circulated among groups of women or were read aloud while certain domestic activities took place."

[44] Silverman, 185.

indicating that he sees a drastic change occurring in 1789. Before this shift, Uzanne is willing to admit for the possibility of female collectors based on their social class rather than their gender, which sets him apart from writers such as Sommer who theorize that all women are excluded from equal participation in the activity of collecting.

Within the Germanic context, this approximate period is also used as a marker to define a past era in which women could be openly and appropriately involved in textual interaction. In a speech to the "Gesellschaft der Bibliophilen" conference in Göttingen in 1935, Professor Edward Schröder (1858-1942) explicitly mentions educated women and books in the context of the library at Göttingen:[45]

> The century of the learned woman is the period between the Thirty Years' and the Seven Years War [between 1648 to 1763]; during this time, Germany was abundant with linguistically talented women who loved to write, and who demonstrated a preference for the bound volume. Goedeke's *Grundriß* § 196 lists more than 70 such women who were born between 1620 and 1730. For the most part they belong to the nobility, but a few, especially among the worldly poets, are daughters or wives of professors. Of all that, which these 70 created, only a few religious hymns remain.[46]

For Schröder, the reason that this situation changed is because it led to "intellectual arrogance" and accordingly, the perceived neglect of one's domestic duties as a woman:

> A phenomenon like these daughters of Göttingen professors and their destinies involuntarily forces to our lips the phrase "the question of women's rights." It is a

[45] Schröder was a Germanist who produced over 2,000 essays and reviews (*Neue Deutsche Biographie*).

[46] Schröder, 23-24: "Das Jahrhundert des gelehrten Frauenzimmers ist die Zeit zwischen dem Dreißigjährigen und dem Siebenjährige Kriege; in dieser Zeit war Deutschland überreich an sprachkundigen und schreiblustigen Frauen, die sich mit Vorliebe der gedundenen Form bedienten. Goedekes Grundriß § 196 zählt mehr als 70 solcher Damen auf, die zwischen 1620 und 1730 geboren sind. Großenteils gehören sie dem hohen Adel an, einige wenige aber, besonders unter den weltlichen Dichterinnen, sind Töchter oder Frauen von Professoren. Von allem dem, was diese 70 zusammengereimt haben, sind nur noch ein paar geistliche Lieder übrig geblieben."

common mistake, as though in that early period--the time of Rousseau!--the question of women's rights was strange or neutral.

It was only strange or neutral in so far as to reject political activity for women--and that quite naturally in such circles, where, as in the case of the Göttingen professors, one wished to know little oneself of political activity. [...] Most likely serious and intelligent men, not to mention women gifted in writing, did, however, address insightfully and in-depth [...] the question of female education and women's status in society [...] After overcoming ceremonial gallantry, the dangerous time of the epistolary novel began, in which love and thus the courtship of the woman formed the absolute focus. Women were therefore encouraged to believe in the idea of their own exaggerated and exclusive value. Since they read a great deal, much more than their fathers and husbands, who were employed elsewhere, their judgment in matters of philosophy, education, taste, and of literature was considered superior, which easily turned to intellectual arrogance. This explains the frequently described type of the "daughters of Göttingen professors," which was an expression still used in my childhood, and which ignored how many of them were the most well-behaved housewives and mothers.[47]

[47] Schröder, 26-27. "Eine Erscheinung wie diese Göttinger Professorentöchter und ihre Lebensschicksale drängen uns unwillkürlich das Wort "Frauenfrage" auf die Lippen. Es ist ein weit verbreiteter Irrtum, als ob jener frühen Zeit--der Zeit Rousseaus!--die Frauenfrage fremd oder gleichgültig gewesen sei. Das war sie nur eben soweit, als man die politische Betätigung der Frau ablehnte --und das ganz selbstverständlich in solchen Kreisen, wo man wie unter den Göttinger Professoren selbst von politischer Betätigung zumeist nichts wissen wollte. [...] Wohl aber haben, um von schreibseligen Frauen zu schweigen, ernsthafte und geistvolle Männer, [...] die Frage der Frauenbildung und der Stellung der Frau in der Gesellschaft einsichtig und eindringlich behandelt [...] Nach Ueberwindung der zeremoniellen Galanterie war man in die gefährliche Zeit der Briefromane getreten, in denen die Liebe und damit die umworbene Frau den absoluten Mittelpunkt bildete. So wurden die Weiber, in der Idee ihres übertriebenen, ausschließlichen Wertes bestärkt. Da sie sehr viel lasen, viel mehr als ihre anderweit beschäftigten Väter und Männer, räumte man ihnen ein Richteramt in Sachen der Philosophie, der Erziehung, des Geschmacks, der Literatur ein, das leicht zu geistiger Ueberhebung führte. So erklärt sich der vielbeschrieene [sic] Typus der Göttinger Professorentöchter, der bis in die Tage meiner Jugend sprichwörtlich war, wobei man darüber hinwegsah, wie viele von ihnen die bravsten Hausfrauen und Mütter wurden."

The impression left by this passage is that the "century of the educated woman" passed because reading tastes changed, and because women, who had more leisure time than men, read the wrong works and learned the wrong ideas from them. These errors included an opinion of their own superiority as readers, which Schröder depicts as somehow unfeminine by emphasizing that these "Göttinger Professorentöchter" were good wives and mothers despite their education. Again, the constellation "woman versus book" is applied to a modern period but not to an earlier period in which other social norms are perceived to have applied. Addressing his audience during a period in which conservative rhetoric about the role of women in society was widely discussed in the political arena, Schröder claims that a different paradigm existed in the period 1648-1763, one in which women were active in literary circles although excluded from political participation, and his evidence is that women produced more texts themselves. However, in his speech to a society of bibliophiles, a group of book collectors, the decisive, dangerous, and controversial acts are reading and writing, not book ownership and access to texts. His perception is that the century of learned women began and ended in its textual output.

For writers such as Uzanne, Schröder, and others, the approximate period of the French Revolution appears to mark a boundary point in the history of collecting.[48] They represent women as more involved with creating, exchanging, providing access to, and preserving written documents before this period, and they depict these activities as appropriate for the time in a way that is discouraged for women in their own context. Yet these are representations of the past that reflect their own assumptions and their own biases--particularly in the way in which they define the identity of the book collector.

[48] See Lucius.

While in the modern era, the awareness of the role gender can play in representations of book collectors is increasing, it is important to question the assumptions of past scholarship and to reexamine the conclusions drawn. In an introduction to an exhibition on fifteen women book collectors from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries that was curated by the Grolier Club in 1990, Mary Hyde Eccles, who was herself a collector, pondered the predominance of men in book collecting: "The fascinating question raised by all this is *why*, in five centuries, in six countries, do there seem to have been so *few* women book collectors? The answer is obvious: a serious collector on any scale must have three advantages: considerable resources, education, and freedom. Until recently, only a handful of women have had all three, but times are changing!"[49] While Eccles raises a valid point about the economic reality underlying many collections, there are other factors in play. There have been women who possessed the resources, education, and opportunity to collect, and who have done so, but the issue is whether they have been identified as book collectors. The definition of a "serious collector," and the criteria underlying that definition, are fluid and flexible.

One way in which these depictions of the past can be placed under scrutiny is to explore, through surviving texts, the multiple ways in which individuals who owned books and other written documents perceived their interactions with them. The individual contexts of women who collected offer fertile ground for examining these depictions, in contrast to broad generalizations across an entire sex. One such example of an early modern book collector is Queen Elizabeth I of England (1533-1603), who is frequently cited as an early modern woman who collected.[50] In certain depictions, Queen Elizabeth is treated as an exception, both among

[49] Eccles,

[50] See, for example, Dibdin's *Bibliomania*, in which he writes that Queen Elizabeth I was a voracious bibliophile: "Queen Elizabeth was not exempt from it, and that her great Secretary, Cecil, sympathised with her. In regard to

her gender and in her country. In the section on "Women as Book-Collectors" in his *Book-Hunter in London* (1895), W. Roberts, describes Queen Elizabeth as a unique figure in the history of British book collecting by women:

> It is certain that our history does not afford any name of the first importance, certainly none which can be classed with Anne of Austria (wife of Louis XIII.), the Duchesse de Berry, Catherine de Médici, Christina of Sweden, Diane de Poitiers, the Comtesse du Barry, Marie Antoinette, the Marquise de Pompadour, or of at least a dozen others whose names immediately suggest themselves. The only English name, in fact, worthy to be classed with the foregoing is that of Queen Elizabeth, who, in addition to her passion for beautiful books, may also be regarded as a genuine book-lover and reader.[51]

Roberts highlights Elizabeth's love of rare and luxurious volumes and contrasts it with her "genuine" qualities of loving books and reading them. Presumably the "passion for beautiful books" defines her as a collector, and her actual use of the books contradicts that identity. Yet the ways in which Elizabeth viewed her books and her collection are revealing. One way in which she described her interactions with texts depicts it as a natural activity. As she wrote on the flyleaf of an edition of the New Testament now in the Bodleian Library, which she had had bound for her library: "I walke manie times [...] into the pleasant fieldes of the Holye Scriptures, where I pluck up in the goodlie greene herbes of sentences by pruning, eate them by reading, chewe them up musing, and laie them up at length in the hie seate of memorie by gathering them together; that so having tasted thy sweetness I may the lesse perceive the bitterness of this

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Elizabeth, her prayer-book is quite evidence sufficient for me that she found the Bibliomania irresistible! During her reign how vast and how frightful were the ravages of the Book-madness!" (240).

[51] Roberts, "Women as Book-Collectors."

miserable life."[52] Queen Elisabeth describes her experience with the New Testament actively, as a type of collecting in itself, in which she selects "goodlie greene herbes of sentences" and devours them in order ultimately to gather them inside her as a source of sweet comfort. Unlike the food she eats, this nourishment remains inside her in her memory, rather than her stomach, and she can call upon it at later times for strength. This depiction of collecting relates it to a source of essential nourishment that is superior to "literal" food in that its effects are permanent rather than temporary. Far from describing a situation in which her interactions with books are unusual or set her apart from other women, this description emphasizes the natural and instinctive aspect of collecting.

As this introduction demonstrates, the question of how gender affects the portrayal and understanding of the role of the book collector raises other questions about precisely what that role or identity involves. Looking at the ways in which early modern women construct and describe their interactions with texts provides a window into their own understandings of the act of collecting and into the modern perception of the identity of the book collector.

[52] Jackson, vol. 1., 207.

CHAPTER ONE: DEFINING THE COLLECTOR

In analyzing the identity and the role of a book collector, it is necessary to first define the meaning of a collection and that which is being collected. The definition of a collector is linked to the collection. A collection of texts and materials is more than merely a large number of documents that have randomly accumulated. A book collection may be literally a collection of books, but there is much more to it than that. The underlying idea is that these works have been brought together to serve a purpose that cannot be served by the individual text in isolation.

The history of the collection of written records is linked to the history of libraries and to the history of writing, of books, and of the transmission of written information. As David Diringer notes, it is impossible to state definitively at what point in time humans first began to record information in a written form: he describes the Mesopotamian clay tablets and the Egyptian papyrus scrolls as the earliest known equivalents to books.[1] The surviving evidence of these texts demonstrates that the desire to preserve a written record dates back millennia--the Mesopotamian clay tablets known to scholars today date back to the middle of the fourth millennium BCE and the papyrus scrolls to the early dynastic period (30-28 centuries BCE).[2] Those texts which have survived serve as the cultural record for investigations into the civilizations that produced them; information that was not recorded and preserved has been lost forever. Yet the act of recording information in written forms is only the first step in ensuring that it remains useful. It must also be accessible. Fred Lerner relates how the ancient Sumerians, who created those clay tablets, created catalogs of their collections, one of the earliest of which

[1] Diringer, 51.

[2] Diringer, 53-54 and 141.

was created five thousand years ago in Ur.[3] The evidence of such catalogs demonstrates that these texts had a certain meaning and purpose in their position in the collection, in addition to the meaning of each individual work. With the creation of a catalog or some form of representation that indicates awareness of the arrangement and combination of separate objects into a cohesive whole, the collection as an entity comes into existence.

Throughout various innovations and changes in format, from papyrus to paper, and the advent of printing, and other developments, the creation of written records has remained one of the basic foundations of human civilization. The fragility of these records, however, means that they are unlikely to continue to exist without protection. The understanding we have of the past is formed by our interpretation of the evidence available to us, in the form of those records that have survived. Along with the creation of these records, one continuing priority has been to ensure that they are accessible, even if only to a very limited few, and to preserve them for future use. The act of assembling and maintaining these texts and documents, in whatever form, as part of a collection thus plays an important role in their survival.

Discussions that separate private collecting from institutional collecting throughout human history often fail to take into account the relatively modern origin of this distinction. In his discussion of the seven ages of librarianship, Donald Krummel traces general trends in the development of libraries in Western civilization, from their origins as working archives (beginning in 3,000 BCE) to their present-day function as instruments for social change (starting around 1910).[4] The concept of the library or book collection as a type of democratic instrument

[3] Lerner, 15. Lerner adds that some scholars later interpreted these catalogs as poems, since they consist of the first few words of the texts rather than a title.

[4] Krummel, 2.

supported by local and federal governments dates to the eighteenth century.[5] Guidelines such as S. R. Ranganathan's "Five Rules of Library Science" (1931)--books are for use, every book its reader, every reader his or her book, save the time of the reader, and the library is a growing organism--reflect the modern idea that these institutions should reflect and respond to the needs of their users.[6] These are relatively recent aspects that have come to be associated with public institutional libraries. Before this concept of institutionalized knowledge preservation and access, dissemination and exchange, as a duty of the state, the library or book collection existed as a very different concept. For the period 1350-1700, Krummel describes the Renaissance prince and the personal scholar or university as the major sponsors of libraries. These libraries reflected the needs and identities of their founders and collectors.

One major purpose of a collection of written records is to store information for use. Yet information without organization and without context, without a means of structuring access and preserving it for long-term use, is useless. The idea of the collection itself indicates and implies that the individual items within it gain new meaning and new value from their position inside the collection. One book does not constitute a collection, nor does a random pile of books whose contents are uncataloged and unknown. There is more to a collection than numbers. Information stored in written form does not collect itself; a human perspective is required in order to gain meaning and relevance. In addition to those who curate the stored information, in whatever form it may be, over time, there must first be a decision to assemble those materials in one location.

[5] Krummel's seven ages of librarianship depict the evolution of the library institution from working archive (roughly 3,000 BCE), center of culture (300 BCE), archival shrine (500 AD), testimony to virtue (1350 AD), basis for knowledge and study (1600), instrument for social betterment (1700, 1850), to an instrument for social change (1910, 1945, 1970).

[6] "Ranganathan, S.R. (1892-1972)." *World Encyclopedia of Library and Information Service.*

All collections have a point of origin, a beginning that is often lost in their later existence. All collections begin with a collector, who shapes the later development of the collection.

1.1 Theories of Collecting

Much of the literature on book collecting, and on collecting in general, focuses on the act of collecting as an abstract human desire or impulse, divorced from a specific context. In some theoretical contexts, all types of collecting are interpreted as a universal human activity common to all cultures and all periods. These analyses include book collecting as one example out of many in which the act of collecting can be studied.[7]

In Stanley Cavell's essay, "The World as Things: Collecting Thoughts on Collecting," his topic is the philosophy of collecting. He overviews numerous theoretical constructions of the act of collecting by writers such as Descartes, Hume, Kant, Wittgenstein, Benjamin, and others, such as the way in which collecting recreates and reproduces the larger world (Robert Opie); the removal of objects from their expected use and the implications of their repositioning in a new setting (Susan Stewart, Philip Fisher, Krzysztof Pomian); and the idea of collecting as objectifying oneself "in a simulation of death in which one symbolically survives within one's own life" (Jean Baudrillad).[8] In discussing Walter Benjamin's depiction of the collector, Cavell writes that "Benjamin's portrait, or function, of the collector [...] suggest[s] that the collector himself is without effective or distinctive interiority, without that individuality of the sort he prides himself on."[9] Other writers "profess to understand the self--presumably of any period and

[7] The literature on different aspects and perspectives on collecting is extensive; see, for example, Freud, Becker, Blom, Conniff, McIsaac, and Stagl.

[8] Cavell, 65.

[9] Cavell, 71.

locality--as some kind of collection of things."[10] For Cavell, all of these theoretical approaches are connected by their reliance upon a fundamental requirement: the collection must have a unifying narrative. This narrative offers the key to interpreting the collector. As he writes, "[w]e have, in effect, said that every collection requires an idea (or universal, or concept). (This seems to presage the fact, testified to by many writers on collecting, that collections carry narratives with them, ones presumably telling the point of the gathering, the source and adventure of it.)"[11] This narrative, the focus on the collection, begins with the collection, Benjamin's collector remains an abstract figure, and there is no discussion of who is a collector, and how that collector comes to exist. The self, the collecting entity, and the individual behind the collection all remain generalized and abstracted. The collector can even be portrayed as the sum of the collected objects. Cavell finishes his discussion with a plaintive series of questions that relates collecting to a universal urge: "Why do we put things together as we do? Why do we put ourselves together with just these things to make a world? What choices have we said farewell to?"[12] In collecting objects, we collect ourselves; in collecting ourselves, we create a world. The fundamentally important nature of collecting in all its iterations and on all levels makes it a seemingly inexhaustible topic for examination. Yet in these discussions, there seems to be an idea that there is and can be one clear consensus about what constitutes a collection, and who decides to label it a collection. The collector, in contrast, remains abstract.

Another analysis of the narrative of the collection is Susan Stewart's *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection.* Stewart's analysis posits

[10] Cavell, 71.

[11] Cavell, 66.

[12] Cavell, 88.

the collection as an atemporal site in which the individual objects, and their individual origins in time and place, are repositioned as pieces of a newly classified, and thus newly generated, whole. In this way the collector becomes the creator of a new present.[13] The microcosmic recreation of a larger world thus created mirrors its creator in the objects that form it as a whole and in its organization. There must be a system of organization in Stewart's collection, since "[t]he collection replaces origin with classification."[14] The narrative of the collection must therefore be recognizable through this system. In her description of the souvenir, she writes that the collection's origin is "a narrative of interiority and authenticity. It is not a narrative of the object; it is a narrative of the possessor."[15] Yet the difficulty of interpreting the narrative of the collector and the collection when it is not explicitly stated by the collector is unexamined here.

In her introduction to the collection *Sammler--Bibliophile--Exzentriker,* which is written from an anthropological perspective, Aleida Assmann places collecting as a universal human activity that is defined by its relationship to social centers of power. In pre-modern societies, individuals assembled and maintained collections, which served as the centers of knowledge; beginning in the early modern period, collecting existed in the context of institutions such as museums, archives, and libraries.[16] Assmann sees the functions of collecting as the legitimization of power, the construction of identity, the creation of an eccentric public persona ("exzentrische Selbstinszenierung"), the acquisition of knowledge, and the classification of knowledge.[17] She notes that these last two functions, knowledge acquisition and classification, were particularly

[13] Stewart, 151-154.

[14] Stewart, 153.

[15] Stewart, 136.

[16] Assmann, 8-9.

[17] Assmann, 10-11.

important from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries.[18] Individuals who assemble private collections continue to exist, but they have taken on the characteristics of eccentrics, using Helmuth Plessner's concept of the eccentric, meaning that they are defined by their position on the periphery in contrast to the center of social power. For Assmann, the idiosyncratic character of modern collectors is one of the reasons that these peripheral collections can stand in opposition to the "official culture" and "its institutionalized forms of knowledge preservation."[19] The collector is thus constructed as the primary means by which alternative forms of knowledge and interactions with that knowledge can continue to exist within a particular society. The function of the collector is different from the revolutionary, however, in that the revolutionary seeks to change the existing power structures, while the collector is trying to create spaces within them.[20] This interpretation depends upon a dichotomous construction of culture in which there is a clear and established boundary between an "official" culture with a unified consensus about what information should be preserved and an unofficial, marginalized counterculture. Since even within an institution or system of institutions, there are very different opinions about which information is worthy of preservation, it is difficult to accept that these boundaries are decisive, and that the private collector is completely excluded from structures of social power. This construction also appears to view the collector as inherently passive, which is difficult to unify with certain historical figures known to have collected and owned books, such as Napoleon.[21] As for the creation of an eccentric public persona, the ways in which a collector is depicted and

[18] Assmann, 14.

[19] Assmann, 9.

[20] Assmann, 15.

[21] Diringer notes that Napoleon acquired many important cultural artifacts in his conquests, including the *Codex Vaticanus*, one of the earliest vellum Bibles in Greek (197) and the Bayeux Tapestry (46).

represented vary depending upon the context and the purpose of the representation, and this representation is, in the case of book collecting, often an external act. Assmann does not clarify if it is the collector's conscious decision to create an eccentric persona or if an external observer evaluates this position. Here, too, the figure of the collector is defined only in broad and general terms, and this role or identity is treated as a universally accepted, universally understood consensus.

In his work *Sammeln: Ein philosophischer Versuch,* Manfred Sommer seeks systematic connections and similarities in the process of all aspects of collecting in order to move beyond the type of analysis he labels "a colorful list of anecdotes about greedy and obsessed individuals."[22] For Sommer, "true" collecting is always a conscious, deliberate, and knowledgeable act that involves the movement of objects from one space, the world in which they are dispersed, to another space, in which they are brought together and displayed.[23] The conscious and self-reflexive act of bringing these objects together, rather than ownership in and of itself, determines the collector. Here, a collector is one who creates a collection, which suggests the potential existence of a collector who does not own the collection, yet for Sommer creation appears to imply ownership. He describes two main types of collecting: aesthetic, which is connected to the item to be collected as an object removed from its normal purpose, and thus related to the function of preservation, and economic, which is connected to use and, in the end, destruction of that which has been collected.[24] An economic collector might, for example, collect strawberries in order to eat them, while an aesthetic collector collects objects that have some type

[22] Sommer, 11. He is perhaps referring to works such as Dibdin, Jackson, and others, that provide many examples of collectors who are considered noteworthy because they have overstepped certain boundaries of eccentricity.

[23] Sommer, 10.

[24] Sommer, 9.

of internal organizational connection--a web of references and meanings that provide the entire collection with a systematic focus.[25] For Sommer, there are basic criteria that determine a collection in itself. A collection must include more than three objects and these objects must be movable and initially separated from one another.[26] Yet the decisive factor is always the conscious self-identification of the collector as a collector, with a systematic focus on the collection: "If, however, someone can not specify what he collects, in that he lacks not only the linguistic term, but also the concept itself, then he does not collect at all."[27] The identity of collector is decided by the ability to articulate a deliberate collecting system and organization; if this fundamental qualification is not fulfilled, there can be no collecting. Sommer also highlights the distinction between internal and external perceptions of the act of collecting, which he expresses using the terms "action" ("Handlung"), which is latent and unambiguous, and "behavior" ("Verhalten"), which is visible and ambiguous.[28] According to this distinction, an outside observer's interpretation alone should not be used as the determining factor in deciding if the action of an individual should be considered true collecting, since there are many ways to interpret behavior. The primary deciding factor in defining the collector is the way in which individual collectors represent their own activities. In other words, the identity of the collector is first and foremost based on the recognition that this identity exists, and in the awareness that one

[25] Sommer, 75.

[26] Sommer, 116-118.

[27] Sommer, 27. "Kann aber jemand grundsätzlich nicht angeben, was er sammelt, fehlt ihm also nicht allein der sprachliche Ausdruck, sondern der Begriff, so sammelt er überhaupt nicht."

[28] Sommer, 253-255. "Es ist ein Unterschied, ob ich als Gehender von meinem *Tun* spreche oder ob ein Zuschauer von meinem *Verhalten* spricht [...] Meine Handlung indes und die Absicht, die ihr zugrunde liegt und die ich mit ihr verfolge, teilen die Zweideutigkeit meines Verhaltens nicht. Mein Beobachter muß sich deshalb entscheiden, worüber er reden will. [...] Das Verhalten zeichnet sich aus durch Visibilität und Ambivalenz, das Handeln durch Latenz und Eindeutigkeit."

can participate self-reflexively in creating one's own identity through identifying oneself as a collector.[29] The search for the identity of the collector therefore properly begins in the mind of the collector. Sommer, however, fails to discuss the precise ways in which this identity can be expressed and interpreted in his theoretical exploration.

In his "Kleine Philosophie des Sammelns," Norbert Hinske focuses on the meaning of the act of collecting for the individual collector, claiming that while collecting is a conscious action, one that fulfills a biographical function and provides continuity, it is rare that this desire is explicitly expressed. In describing what he views as the original motivation for collecting, which is the desire for "Weltaneignung," or "appropriation of the world," Hinske states that this motivation rarely reaches the conscious level: "Hardly anyone creates a collection with the intention or the thought of thereby contributing to the continuity and stability of his own life."[30] In contrast to the idea of the collector in Sommer's representation, Hinske's collector does not recognize, and is perhaps not able to express, inner motivations and external explanations. In his typology, Hinske draws the distinction between two types of collections--object-related and subject-supporting ("objektbezogenen und subjektbegleitenden Sammlungen")[31]--that reflect the biographical connection to their collector. For certain objects, such as Roman coins or minerals, the collecting subject and the collected object belong to two different worlds, and thus the biographic function of the collection is external; for documents such as circulating currency, stamps, catalogs, and so on, the collecting subject and the collected object form a connection

[29] Sommer, 431-432. "Je mehr das Sammeln zur Leidenschaft wird--*an unruly passion*--, desto mehr zeigt es Züge dessen, was eher mit uns getan wird, als daß wir es täten. Trotzdem ist, ob es einen Sammeltrieb gibt oder nicht, keine Frage der Biologie oder der Psychologie, sondern eine Frage unserer Selbstauffassung: Es gibt ihn, indem wir meinen, daß es ihn gäbe."

[30] Hinske, 98. "Kaum jemand wird eine Sammlung mit der Absicht oder dem Gedanken anlegen, damit zur Kontinuität und Stabilität seines eigenen Lebens beizutragen."

[31] Hinske, 97.

based on their shared historical nature that leads to inner unity.[32] Hinske then proceeds to outline his typology in three basic principles: 1. the collected object, 2. the intention of the collector, and 3. the connection to the private biography of the collector, which determines whether a collection is object-related or subject-supporting.[33] Particularly if the collector is unconscious of the real underlying motivation of the collecting act, this decision to interpret the collecting act based on its connection to the personal and private biography of the collector requires significant interpretation by the external critic or viewer. In order to carry out this interpretive act, the critic must first have access to the documents that express this personal and private biography, which depends upon their preservation and existence.

Hinske and Sommer appear to contradict each other in the way in which they frame the interpretation of the act of collecting. Either collecting is a conscious and deliberately-expressed action (one that requires the collecting subject to first be aware of the possibility of such an identity), or else it can be an unconsciously motivated act that depends upon the evaluation of an external critic. Yet both theories depend on the existence of an outside evaluator who, in the end, evaluates the documentary evidence available and, presumably, makes a decision about whether the title of "collector" is justified. The collecting subject becomes the object of scrutiny, yet the role of the evaluating outsider remains unexamined, and the concrete underlying criteria, including gender, which can underpin such decisions on the part of the "objective" observer are ignored.

All of these theories take as a given that the identity of the collector is established and socially agreed-upon. This definition rests on an external evaluation of, and often assumptions

[32] Hinske, 96.

[33] Hinske, 97-98.

about, the internal thought processes of an individual collector, which frequently reveals as much about the external evaluator as it does about the collector under examination. Another problem with this definition is that it is very difficult to measure inclinations and connoisseurship when dealing with a collection without supplementary, external information. For example, Anthony Hobson's *Apollo and Pegasus* focuses on a now-scattered collection whose original owner was unknown. Hobson presents evidence that this collection belonged to Giovanni Battista Grimaldi (ca. 1524-1612?). The books in Grimaldi's collection are identifiable as components of a collection by their beautiful bindings and the device, or *impresa,* of Apollo and Pegasus that was created for Grimaldi by the humanist Claudio Tolomei (1492-1556), who also advised Grimaldi on the titles he assembled for the collection. In this case, it is the survival of the collection, and the interest it has awakened in later scholars, that is responsible for Grimaldi's reputation as a collector. In interpreting the collection, Hobson turns to interpreting Grimaldi's motives for assembling it: Grimaldi was moved by "a vision of the heights to which scholarship and literature give access, and his was the resolution to honour them with the utmost splendor in his power."[34] The existence of the collection serves as proof that Grimaldi possessed these impulses, and its attribution to Grimaldi is the primary reason for assuming that he was a collector.

1.2 Book Collecting as a Separate and Unique Activity

In other theoretical analyses, book collecting is treated as a separate, specialized and unique activity that is set apart from other types of collecting. These writers present book collecting in a separate category based on the nature of the book as an object, separate from other collected objects such as coins, paintings, and stamps.[35]

[34] Hobson 1975, 124.

[35] See, for example, Basbanes, Benjamin, Acker, De Hamel, Petroski, Ruppelt, Saltzwedel, Shevchenko, and Seefeldt.

As Wulf D. von Lucius explains in his work *Bücherlust: vom Sammeln* (2000), the act of collecting books can be understood to have many motivations. Book collecting can be seen as 1) an act that straddles order and disorder, renewing the old and generating the new; 2) a primal drive, connected to the "hunter/gatherer" instinct; 3) an act related to the pleasure derived from beautiful objects; 4) the instinct to preserve and save, including the cultural and social function of preservation as well as the emotional element, related to nostalgia; 5) the expression of personal enthusiasm for a specific topic, theme, or person; 6) a badge of identity demonstrating the collector's membership in a particular group; 7) a psychological drive, in the Freudian sense, that compensates for a lack, or can never be satiated ("Donjuanismus"); and 8) "Bücherlust," or the sensual pleasure in beautiful books that have a strong emotional value for the collector.[36] These different motivations serve to explain why a collector might collect, but the definition of a collector is itself is divorced from the act of collecting. There are still no concrete criteria for defining one individual as a book collector and denying that definition to another.

In his *Anatomy of Book Collecting* (1930), a seminal text in book collecting, Holbrook Jackson models his study of bibliomania on Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) in presenting "an *Anatomy* of its subject: a fair analysis of books and their meaning for all kinds of men and women, with a particular relation of the madness engendered by them and for them."[37] Ostensibly a study of the disease of bibliomania, which can be prevented and cured by reading, study, and writing, the text is itself, as Jackson admits, an attempt at curing himself of this disease.[38] Analyzing the ways in which texts and humans interact, Jackson bases his

[36] Lucius, 9-24.

[37] Jackson, vol. I, 2.

[38] Jackson, vol. I, 9-10.

interpretations on a sizable corpus of writings in which writers and famous historical figures describe their interactions and perceptions of books. The book collector thus speaks through these texts. Part of his analysis focuses on books and the ways in which they have been described, from antiquity to his own contemporary time.[39] While this book is a primary example of the type of "lists of anecdotes" that often appear in histories of collecting, it is valuable in its inclusion of book collectors and book lovers under different categories that investigate their identities and their contexts rather than separating the act of collecting from its individual context. These collectors are included in Jackson's study for what frequently appear to be idiosyncratic reasons, but the list of those he includes serves as a concrete frame of reference.

Book collecting, when it is discussed in relation to women who are collectors, shares many links to the collection of works of art. In their study of women art collectors, Charlotte Gere and Marina Vaizey identify certain common factors that recur in many of the lives of the most well-known women collectors from the early modern era to the present day. Although their work's primary focus is on women who collected art and objects rather than printed texts or manuscripts, Gere and Vaizey's descriptions of the act of collecting frame three patterns.[40] First, these women's collecting was not separate from their duties or social positions, but were instead "complementary to the central relationships of their lives." Second, most of these women had mentors or advisors who supported their collecting activities; as Gere and Vaizey note, many

[39] Jackson's "Catalog of Fond Similitudes" provides an extensive but not exhaustive list of the ways in which writers and famous figures have described books. Books are compared to guests, companions, friends, teachers, masters, guides, directories to heavenly wisdom, circulars, universities, talismans and spells, proverbs, prophets, magicians, physic, anesthetics, limbs, lamps, flowers, orchards, moonlit woods, the seedplot of immortality, windows, riches, the wealth of the world, treasures, mines, legacies, money, estates, battles, engines of war, ornaments, furniture, furniture of the mind, warehouses and depositories, engines, ships, lighthouses, monuments, gastronomic delights (including fruit, meat, honey, mead, and so on), fruit trees, souls, pets, living organisms, ghosts, mediums for the dead, divine and God-like beings, and mates (24-37).

[40] Gere and Vaizey, 14.

male collectors also had advisor figures. The frequency of agents and advisors applies to male and female book collectors as well.[41] Third, for Gere and Vaizey, one factor especially prevalent in the modern female collector is the proselytizing urge or desire to nurture that which is being collected by converting an audience to an understanding of the collection's importance.

In another work dealing with female art collectors, almost all of the women listed are also known to have collected books, and, within the work, are frequently mentioned in the context of book collecting.[42] Britta Jürgs states in her foreword to *Sammeln nur um zu besitzen? Berühmte Kunstsammlerinnen von Isabella d'Este bis Peggy Guggenheim,* that while art collecting appears to her to be a predominantly male domain, it is important to study female art collectors to understand their roles as collectors and as muses ("Mäzeinnen.")[43] She notes that the iconography available for women as collectors primarily consisted of the classical Greek and Roman figure of the goddess Minerva/Athena, and that this comparison frequently appears in such constellations as depicting Christina of Sweden as the "Minerva of the North" and Karoline Luise of Baden as the "Minerva of Hessen."[44] Jürgs writes that this frequency indicates that there were few images available as role models to women in their portrayals of collecting activities.[45] Yet despite the perceived lack of representations of idealized or mythic women who collected, there were many women who collected, and many motivations for doing so. Jürgs lists several in

[41] See, for example, Härtel.

[42] The women who are studied in this work are the following: Isabella d'Este, Margaret of Austria, Mary of Hungary, Maria de Medici, Christina of Sweden, Jeanne Baptiste d'Albert de Luynes, Madame de Pompadour, Caroline Louise of Hessen-Darmstadt, Catherine the Great, Empress Josephine, Victoria (Empress Frederick), Gertrude Stein, Nell Walden, Marie-Laure de Noailles, and Peggy Guggenheim.

[43] Jürgs, 7.

[44] Jürgs, 8-9.

[45] Jürgs, 9.

her foreword: in addition to the use of works of art as war booty and as gifts, the motivation for collecting art could be to increase an existing collection; collection as a financial investment; as a reflection of one's own artistic activity and ability; as a random or coincidental activity (as in the case of Christina of Sweden, who was numbered among those who were primarily interested in books ["vorwiegend an Büchern interessierten"]); as a reflection of the role of sponsor or commissioner of works ("Auftraggeberinnen"); as a fashionable buyer of works that were currently in style; and, in a related capacity, as a way of influencing and creating a fashion for a particular style.[46] Most of the entries for each individual woman also make a point of mentioning her book collection, such as the entry for Margaret of Austria (1480-1530), which describes her as an active book collector for her entire life.[47]

One important consideration when examining the theoretical nature of the book collector is its subjective and fashionable nature. If a book collector is defined as one who collects rare books, then there is a great deal of subjectivity involved in this definition. There is no universally-agreed upon definition of a rare book, or of the price of a rare book. As Carter and Barker note in their definition of rarity, the cost of a rare book, or even the definition of rarity, depends more on what potential owners are willing to pay rather than any timeless or universal value.[48] Rare book dealers, such as Ian Ellis, author of *Book Finds: How to Find, Buy, and Sell Used and Rare Books*, necessarily mention the market or financial value of the books they collect since those books represent a considerable amount of time and money, although they attempt to deemphasize this aspect and frequently note that book collecting should be a labor of love. As

[46] Jürgs, 9-14.

[47] Margaret of Austria is described as having a life-long love of, and desire to collect, beautiful books: "Von Kindheit an hatte Margarete auch eine Leidenschaft für schöne und kostbare Bücher, die sie für ihre Bibliothek zusammentrug. Sie umfaßte am Ende ihres Lebens an die 400 Bände" (Jürgs, 37).

[48] Carter and Barker, "Rarity," 181-183.

discussions of theft, fraud, and forgery in the field of rare books makes clear, there would be far fewer crimes in the world of book collecting if there were little money in it.[49] There are many people who collect, many people who deal, and many people who are aware that this is a lucrative area. While a certain amount of prestige is involved, the financial aspect is also a powerful motivator. In Travis McDade's study of Daniel Spiegelman, a notorious book thief, the contrast between market value and the scholarly value of a rare book is explicitly and extensively discussed.[50] In discussions of theft and economic value, there is as yet little discussion investigating why the perpetrators seem to be predominantly male when librarianship as a profession is dominated by women.[51]

1.3 Constructing the Book Collector

In order to understand how the terms associated with book collecting are used and why, and to create a relevant framework of meaning that allows for an understanding of the term collector in its historical context, it is important to look more closely at who is considered a book

[49] See McDade; Bartlett; and Basbanes, particularly his description of the book thief Stephen Carrie Blumberg (465-519).

[50] McDade, 38. As Jean Ashton, one of the librarians at Columbia University, where Spiegelman stole a large number of books, testified at the trial: "'The auction or appraised value is a value that is put on it by people who deal in the buying and selling of manuscripts, and that valuation fluctuates according to what happens to be fashionable at the time,' […] "It may be parallel to what scholars would value it, but scholarly value is entirely separate since a document that is worth $10 on the market may well be the key to an argument that is made by a scholar which influences thousands of people. Conversely, a book that is elaborately illustrated and appears to be extremely valuable and appeal to collectors may have relatively little scholarly value." One of the revolutionary and legally precedent-setting aspects of Spiegelman's sentencing hearing was the presiding judge's use of his discretion to sentence Spiegelman to additional time above what was settled in a plea bargain agreement. The judge justified his decision to increase Spiegelman's sentence based on expert testimony that the market value of the stolen books was not the same as their scholarly value, and, moreover, the damage to scholarship created by their loss. McDade also speculates that non-bibliophile thieves are attracted to stealing books because they perceive it as a relatively low-risk crime that juries do not take seriously.

[51] McDade, 29. In an aside, McDade also mentions but fails to question the overwhelming dominance of male book thieves: "(Use of the pronoun "he" in these pages is not only generic but also due to the fact that the great majority of the rare book thieves the author mentions are, in fact, male.)" The question of why there appear to be so few female book thieves, and whether this statement truly reflects the reality of the situation, remains unanswered. Bartlett addresses the gender divide in book collecting in her work, but there is no discussion of female book thieves.

collector, what characteristics underlie this categorization, and where these characteristics come from. Using examples of ways in which book collectors are described aids the investigation of exactly what it means to be a book collector and how this identity can be represented and perceived.

The identification as a book collector is of pivotal importance for the representation of the individual, both during the lifetime of the individual and after death. It aids in the preservation of the collection itself, since a collection that is perceived as complete, whole, or noteworthy presents a more attractive object for other collectors unless the entire collection is filled with valuable objects. The collection of Samuel Pepys, for example, is considered noteworthy not only for the value of its individual objects, but in the context of the collection and its completeness and the care taken in selecting each object. The knowledge of the collector that shaped the collection forms its true value. The library and textual influences are seen as key in interpreting the individual's behavior, opinions, and beliefs, as though the books and texts themselves formed their owner and were formed by him or her.[52] In addition to resources that examine the literary context of writers and scholars, whose literary influences can be studied through the evidence of their collections, there is great interest in studying historical figures through their textual artifacts. For example, works on Mozart[53] or Henry VIII and his wives,[54] and their book collections, seek to gain new understanding of them based on their inventoried

[52] See, for example, Boswell's *Milton's Library: A Catalogue of the Remains of John Milton's Library and an Annotated Reconstruction of Milton's Library and Ancillary Readings* ; Passmann and Vienken's guide to the *The Library and Reading of Jonathan Swift*, which they subtitled *A Bio-Biographical Handbook*; Gulyás' guide to the library of Johannes Sambucus; and Wachsmuth's analysis and Ruppert's catalog of Goethe's library.

[53]See Konrad and Staehelin. Although Konrad and Staehelin admit that information about Mozart's library is limited, they see it as a way to reconstruct and understand Mozart himself: "Wenn wir schon nicht deutlich wissen, wer Mozart war, so wissen wir nach einem forschenden Blick in seine Bücherwelt wenigsten etwas mehr darüber, wer er gewesen sein könnte" (12).

[54] See Carley.

books. In determining if a book owner is a collector or a hoarder, a curator of cultural heritage or a hobbyist, other judgments and interpretations often are already made about the individual's importance.

The period of this study, 1650-1780, and its focus on the Germanic context, requires an understanding of the role of the book collector since, as we shall see, this period is often identified as a transitional moment in book collecting, as in other cultural, social, and economic spheres in German-speaking territories and in Europe as a whole. However, if the conception of the book collector, formed by unexamined expectations such as the idea of the predominantly male book collector, or the idea of the publicly-available collection as an institution based on the promulgation of moral values, is assumed to be universally applicable to all periods and all cultures and all contexts, then the result of such explorations will simply be to reinforce those particular values. This study seeks to interrogate the actual situation present in the time period under discussion.

1.4 Definitions

A useful starting point for examining the perception of a particular role or identity over time is to investigate the ways in which that role has been described in reference sources such as dictionaries and encyclopedias.[55] The circular definition found in many reference works, which states that "a book collector is a person who collects books," does not address deeper issues of identity and meaning. For example, the question of exactly what, if anything, differentiates a book collector from other terms such as "bibliophile," "bibliomane," "book lover," and so on,

[55] Within the Germanic context, the term "Büchersammler" is the direct equivalent of the English term "book collector," yet there are multiple other terms, such as "bibliophile," "book lover," and so on, that appear to have conveyed a related meaning. For example, Kluge's etymological dictionary has no separate entry for the word "sammler" but does list the word "sammeln" (the verb form, "to collect") for the action or activity. Sammeln is a derivation of the Old High German *saman-*, meaning "beisammen, zusammen" in the sense of bringing together in the same place ("nach demselben Ort hin") and is related to the words "zusammen" ("together") and "gesamt" ("total, the whole").

cannot be answered by this definition, nor can it explain what characteristics, if any, definitively separate the book collector from collectors of other objects, such as paintings, coins, and statues.[56] Some writers use "book collector" and "bibliophile" synonymously, while others differentiate between the two. For example, Carter and Barker's *ABC for Book Collectors* provides no definition of exactly what defines a book collector and defines "bibliophile" as "a lover of books." In his article about the collection of Nikolaus von Kues (1401-1464), Hans-Walter Stork situates Kues as a collector but not a "bibliophilic collector" since he assembled a working library: "Dabei war Cusanus [Kues] weniger ein bibliophiler Sammler, er benutzte die von ihm gesammelten Handschriften als Arbeitsmaterialien."[57] In his discussion of Oscar Wilde and his book collection, Thomas Wright describes Wilde as a bibliophile who created himself out of his books, loved books without limit, and was utterly devastated by the loss of his library, yet Wilde's "meager" library of approximately 2,000 works, which he used, serves as evidence that he was not a collector.[58] Jean Grolier (1479-1565) is called "the prince of bibliophiles" in one catalog featuring five books from his collection of approximately 3,000 volumes, and this distinction appears to rest primarily on the quality of his book's bindings.[59] Another figure

[56] "Bibliophile" also seems to have masculine connotations, based on the number of times that the qualifying term "female bibliophile" is used when discussing women who are bibliophiles; see, for example, Eccles.

[57] Stork, 73.

[58] Wright, 120: "Wilde owned around two thousand volumes. If this seems a meager estimate for a man as ostentatiously over-educated as Wilde, we should remember that he was a writer, rather than a collector or a scholar, and that his was a working library."

[59] *Le Prince des Bibliophiles*, "Introduction": "Tous les amateurs s'accordent pour dire que Jean Grolier reste le plus grand bibliophile français de tous les temps et, en parlent de la qualité de ses reliures, citent Bonaventure d'Argonne qui écrivait en 1699 dans ses *Mélanges de littérature: <<Il semble, à les voir, que les Muses, qui ont tant contribué à la composition du dedans, se soient aussi appliquées à les approprier au dehors, tant il paraît d'art et d'esprit dans leurs ornements. Ils sont tous dorés avec une délicatesse inconnue aus doreurs d'aujourd'hui…>>."* (My translation: "All [book]lovers agree in saying that Jean Grolier remains the greatest French bibliophile, when referring to the quality of his bindings, citing Bonaventure d'Argonne, who wrote in 1699 in his *Mélanges de littérature:* "*It seems, when looking at them, that the Muses, who contributed to the composition of the contents, also*

commonly known as a bibliophile, August the Younger of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1579-1666), was not particularly interested in purchasing ornate or beautiful bindings for his books; he rarely re-bound books that were bound when he obtained them and favored a durable and practical but unadorned calfskin vellum binding for those books he had bound.[60] Yet reference sources offer valuable clues about how certain words are interpreted and associated with meaning.

In Johann Heinrich Zedler's *Grosse vollständige Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschafften und Künste* (1732-54), the entry for "Sammler" is limited to one very specific meaning. This term refers to a rag picker or rag collector.[61] There are also entries for "Buchführer," "Buchhändler," and other terms that refer to professional trades, but there is no term for the identity of a person who collects books without dealing in them.

A generation later, the definition of collector had expanded to a more all-encompassing definition. In Johann Christoph Adelung's *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der hochdeutschen Mundart* (1774-1786), a "Sammler" is defined concisely: a collector is a person who collects, and whose most distinguished occupation is collecting ("deren vornehmstes Geschäft in Sammeln besteht.")[62] In Joachim Heinrich Campe's *Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (1807), this same definition appears nearly word-for-word. Campe omits the word

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applied themselves to the outsides as well, for there is something of art and spirit in their ornamentation. They are gilded with a delicacy unknown among the gilders of today…"). Italics in original.

[60] Pickwoad, 91.

[61] "Sammler." Zedler, Johann Heinrich. *Grosse vollständige Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschafften und Künste* . 1732-54, 866."Sammler sind besonders privilegirte Leute, welche auf dem Lande und in den Städten die Hadern und Lumpen einhandeln, so in die Pappier=Mühlen geführet, daselbst gestampffet, und zu Verfertigung des Pappiers gebraucht werden."

[62] "Sammler." Adelung, Johann Christoph. *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der hochdeutschen Mundart*. 1774-1786. "Der Sammler, für das ungewöhnliche Sammeler, des -s, plur. ut nom. sing. Fämin. die Sammlerinn, eine Person, welche sammelt, und in engerer Bedeutung, deren vornehmstes Geschäft im Sammeln bestehet."

"vornehmstes" ("most distinguished, grandest") to produce a definition stating that a collector is a person who collects, and whose business consists of collecting.[63]

In all of these sources, a book collector is given as one of the examples of a collector, and the definition of "Sammler" allows for the existence of a woman who is a collector by providing a feminine form: Sammlerin. They link the term "Sammler" more closely with a primary employment or occupation, rather than an identity as such. The term Sammler can refer to those who practice a profession, including book collectors, collectors of copperplate engravings, and the rag collectors who gather rags for paper mills. In these works, a collector is determined by the activity of collecting, regardless of whether the objects collected are paintings, books, engravings, or rags. A collector is a person, male or female, who collects. There is no distinction made based on economic status--a collector of paintings and a collector of rags are both described as collectors, regardless of purpose. While emphasis is placed on the relative importance of this activity in the life of the collector ("deren vornehmstes Geschäft in Sammeln besteht"), further exploration into the motives of a collector is viewed as unnecessary. The implication here is also that collectors are distinguished, and identified, by this activity rather than by their activities in other areas: a scholar, for example, would here be considered first and foremost a scholar rather than a collector, since the collecting activities necessary for scholarship would further that activity rather than collecting in and of itself. The goal of this type of collecting is to assemble a collection. The collector collects, and the result of this action is the collection. The ways in which that collection is then used are secondary.

Later dictionaries reflect a broader view of collecting. In Johann Georg Krünitz' *Oeconomischen Encyclopedia* (1773-1858), the definition is expanded to include examples of

[63] "Sammler." Campe, Joachim Heinrich. *Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. 1807. In Campe's definition, gender is unspecified: "eine Person, welche sammelt, besonders eine Person, deren Geschäft im Sammeln bestehet."

individuals who collect specific items, such as books, paintings, engravings, and natural objects.[64] The Grimms' *Wörterbuch* places the first reference to the word "Sammler" in 1678, in a work by Kaspar von Stieler (1632-1707)[65] and defines it as " m. collector, coactor."[66] In the explanatory quotation from Friedrich Schiller's play *Die Räuber* (1781) that immediately follows, the term refers specifically to a bookseller: "gibt ja jeder verleger seinem sammler (sortimenter) das zehente exemplar gratis. Schiller Räuber 2, 3 schauspiel." The entry in the Grimms' *Wörterbuch* clarifies the meaning of "Sammler" in this passage by inserting "sortimenter," or bookseller, behind it, linking it directly to the profession of book dealer. The connection to book collecting as a specific type of collecting is immediately present in the first example selected. The dictionary entry continues by specifying that this term has added a new meaning in more recent times (which this entry refers to as "neuerer Sprache" or "newer speech" without specifying a particular time frame, one that relates less to a profession and more to an activity that is motivated by particular interests). The collector collects for the purposes of research or as a hobby ("aus wissenschaftlichem interesse oder aus liebhaberei").[67] The

[64] "Sammler." Krünitz, Johann Georg. *Oeconomischen Encyclopedia*. 1773-1858. The entry reads: "*Sammler*, Fämin. Sammlerin, statt des ungewöhnlichen Sammeler, eine Person, welche sammelt, und in engerer Bedeutung, deren vornehmstes Geschäft in Sammeln besteht; daher die Benennungen: Naturaliensammler, Personen, die allerlei Körper aus den drei Naturreichen sammeln; Gemäldesammler, die Gemälde aus den verschiedenen Maler=Schulen sammeln; Büchersammler, welche Bücher sammeln; Kupferstichsammler, welche Kupserstiche sammeln etc. etc.; Im gewöhnlichen Leben versteht man unter Sammler eine Person, die in den Städten und auf dem platten Lande die Lumpen einsammelt und solche in die Papiermühlen liesert; ein Lumpensammler."

[65] While the date given by the Grimms appears to refer to the two-volume work *Der Teutsche Advokat* (Jena, 1678), Stieler's dictionary first appears as *Der Teutschen Sprache Stammbaum und Fortwachs / oder Teutscher Sprachschatz* (Nürnberg 1691). Stieler was a German poet and playwright who was also a member of the German language society die Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft ("The Fruit-bearing Society"), in which his name was "der Spate" and his motto was "übertrifft den Frühzeitigen" ("surpasses the early") and his emblem was the cauliflower (Jones, 527).

[66] The feminine inflexion "sammlerin" no longer appears in this work, although there are other corresponding pairs with separate entries: der Verkäufer/die Verkäuferin, der Erzahler/die Erzählerin, der Schreiber/die Schreiberin, der Händler/die Händlerin, der Dichter/die Dichterin, and so on.

[67] "Sammler." Grimm, Wilhelm, and Jacob Grimm. *Das Deutsche Wörterbuch.* The definition situates the meaning in a specific origin: "besonders in neuerer sprache zur bezeichnung desjenigen, der aus wissenschaftlichem interesse

dictionary entry here specifies the definition of a collector as determined not just by the action (the collecting of objects) but also by the perceived motivation behind it. The collector is either a professional in some form of trade, is assembling a collection for the purpose of scholarship, or as a hobby. While the definition of collector presented here is not restricted to the book collector, it is closely linked to it.

The evidence of the Krünitz and the Grimms' *Wörterbuch* indicates that there was an expansion of terms related to book collecting in the nineteenth century.[68] The Grimms' *Wörterbuch* lists many terms to describe a particular quality or aspect related to act of collecting, particularly its perceived effect on the collector, such as "Sammlerei" ("thätigkeit des sammelns, besonders in spöttischem sinne");[69] "Sammlereifer" ("specifischer eifer, wie er sich beim sammler ausbildet"); "Sammlerfleisz"; "Sammlerherz"; "Sammlerlust"; and "Sammlungsgeist." These terms all deal with subjective perceptions of the degree to which a collector is involved in the act of collecting. While there is no separate entry for "bibliophile" or "bibliomane," they are used to define other terms of German origin that are directly related to books and book possession ("Bücherfreund" and "Büchersucht"), and there are many terms that are connected to

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oder aus liebhaberei bestimmte gegenstände sammelt (vgl. zusammensetzungen wie antiquitäten-, münzen-, käfer-, markensammler u. s. w.): der sammler und die seinigen. Göthe 38, 55 ff."

[68] A brief investigation into the English context demonstrates a similarly large number of terms dealing with book collectors, pointing to a shared context of the perceptions of collecting terms that began in the nineteenth century. The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists a large number of words dealing with those who interact with books, most of which are listed as originating in the nineteenth century. The word "book-collector" is first attested in 1823 in Isaac D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature,* but there are many terms that are used to indicate one who collects books. "Bibliophile" first appears in 1824 in the English context. There are "book-fancier" (1810), "book-hunter" (1823), "book-lover" (1863), and "book-ghoul" (1881, defined as "he who combines the larceny of the biblioklept with the abominable wickedness of breaking up and mutilating the volumes from which he steals"). The few terms that predate the nineteenth century are "book-buyer" (1693), "book-monger" (1661), and the word "collector," in the sense of "one who gathers together," which first appears in 1582.

[69] This particular word and its negative connotation also appears in Campe, but there it can also be used to refer to the collection: "Sammelei. 1) Das Sammeln; ohne Mehrzahl, 2) Etwas Gesammeltes, eine Sammlung. In beiden Bedeutungen nur als ein Verachtung beweisender Ausdruck" (Campe, "sammelei.")

the emotional connection associated with books, including "Bücherbedarf" (the need for books); "Bücherglück" (the happiness found in books); "Bücherhauf" (a horde of books); "Büchermangel" ("librorum inopia" or the lack of books); "Bücherscheu" (which is defined as "horror librorum, widerwille vor büchern" or a horror of books); "Büchersucht" (the addiction to books, which is defined simply as "bibliomania"); and "Büchertand" ("librorum nugae" or frivolous books). The large number of terms related to books and to the effects resulting from their possession, or, indeed, from the desire to possess them, indicate a growing awareness of books as an integral part of everyday life. There are many terms describing people who interact with books or who are defined by books: "Buchadel" ("ein ehmals mit gelehrten würden verbundner adel, zuweilen was briefadel"); "Buchführer" (a book dealer)[70]; "Buchkinder" ("illegitimi liberi per subsequens matrimonium legitimati, mantelkinder" or illegitimate children legitimized by a subsequent marriage); "Buchkrämer" ("librarius" or a publisher); "Bücherfreund" (or friend of books, which is defined only as "bibliophilus," indicating that the term "bibliophile" was well known at this time, even though it did not receive its own entry); "Bücherkenner" (a book expert, "multum versatus in libris"); "Bücherliebhaber" (a book lover, or "librorum amans"); "Büchermüller" (a person who works in a paper mill: "chartarius opifex: wenn sie glauben, das eigentliche werk des gelehrten lasse sich per bogen schätzen, so erniedrigen sie ihn zum büchermüller. Lichtenberg 3, 177"); and "Büchernarr" (a bookfool, or "ineptus librorum emtor").

Through these dictionary definitions, we can trace the development of the perception of a book collector from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present. In the beginning of the period, a book collector was part of the broader category of collector, even though the book

[70] This term earlier refers to a book dealer but later took on the meaning of one who keeps account books.

collector appears to have been one of the most frequently-used examples to illustrate the definition of a collector. The most basic and open definition ("a book collector is a person who collects books") has remained more or less constant, yet what have changed are the additional clarifications that focus on motivations, on the degree of professionalism, on the emotional effects, on who is and who is not a collector, and on the subsequent usage of the objects collected. It is precisely these clarifications, dependant on their contexts, that illustrate the criteria that are used to determine who is and who is not considered to be a book collector.

In specialized works dealing with the topic of book collecting, there are multiple possible labels that could indicate the acquisition and possession of a collection of books: book collecting, bibliophilia, bibliomania, bibliography, and other related subjects (such as "Bücherliebhaberei," which appears to indicate an amateur activity in the sense that it is not motivated by profit). Two very different depictions of the book collector are found in two reference works that were printed almost 100 years apart: Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf's *Ueber Bibliographie und Bibliophilie* (Leipzig, 1793) and Otto Mühlbrecht's *Die Bücherliebhaberei in ihrer Entwickelung bis zum Ende des XIX. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Bücherwesens* (Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1898).

Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf (1719-1794) was a typographer and publisher who contributed to the development of printing musical notation.[71] Nowhere in Breitkopf's work does he differentiate between "bibliographie" (or "the systematic description and history of books, their authorship, printing, publication, editions, etc."[72]) and "bibliophilie," which literally means "the love of books," indicating that for him, the love of books is related to their use in

[71]"Breitkopf, Johann Gottlob Immanuel." *Neue Deutsche Biographie.* 2007.

[72] "Bibliography." *Oxford English Dictionary.*

scholarship. Breitkopf's work, which focuses on typography and the history of fonts, begins with what appears to be a condemnation of the type of collecting that focuses on material value and rarity. The books from the incunabula period have now become the "treasures of the library" through disproportionate expense, and of the multiple bibliographic works that have resulted, there are very few that offer a contribution to scholarship rather than a means for profit.[73] Breitkopf himself is a collector of works, which he mentions as a way to justify his credibility as an authority on the multiple editions of a particular work, the *Theuerdanck*.[74] The editions which he does not own himself, he has recently handled, and thus this physical proximity to the texts gives his descriptions legitimacy. Breitkopf's excursus into the origins of typefaces turns into a treatise on the endangered nature of the German Gothic fonts, which he claims are more suited to the German language and people.[75] He also points out that the recent proliferation of bibliographic literature on printing and the incunabula period has tended to overlook the contributions of Germans. Since this scholarship is largely shaped by the work of Michael

[73]Breitkopf, 3: "Die Liebhaberei zu Büchern des Ersten Druckes hat diese in einen solchen Werth gesetzt, daß sie mit übertriebenem Aufwande zum Schatze der Bibliotheken gemacht werden, und hat Bibliographen in solcher Menge erweckt, daß jedes Jahr neue Beweise ihres Fleißes erscheinen. Viele dieser bibliographischen Werke sind freylich nur Catalogen zu öffentlichem Verkaufe, mit empfehlenden Anmerkungen; oder von Antiquarien, die von dieser Liebhaberey Nutzen erhaschen wollen: nur wenige habe das Verdienst, der Litteratur [sic], oder der Buchdruckereygeschichte einiges Licht aufzustecken; und die Recensenten haben auch bey dem Vorzüglichsten noch immer Gelegenheit, bey dem weiten Umfange dieser Beschäftigung, zu berichtigen, und Lücken auszufüllen."

[74] Breitkopf, 12-13: "Da ich nicht nur alle Ausgaben des Theuerdancks, worunter auch eine wenig bekannte in 12mo ist, die erste von 1517 doppelt einmal auf Druckpapier, und einmal auf Pergament, vortreflich illuminirt, selbst besitze, und die andern drey Werke lange Zeit in Händen gehabt habe: so kann ich als Augenzeuge von den Veränderungen in den beyden Ausgaben des Theuerdancks sowohl, als von der Aehnlichkeit der andern Schriften mit jener, genaue Rechenschaft geben."

[75] Breitkopf, 21: "Ueberhaupt ist es ein wahrer Irrthum, wenn man glaubt, daß die andern Nationen in Europea, bey Annahme der lateinischen Schrift, die sonst gebrauchte deutsche Schrift ganz verabschiedet hätten. Das Volk hat überall seine einmal angenommene Nationalschrift in keinem dieser Länder ganz verlassen; nur diejenige Classe davon hat die lateinische Schriftart zum Gebrauch angenommen, die solche durch das Lesen der Bücher in ausländischen Sprachen, denen solche, ihres Ursprungs wegen, mehr angemessen ist, schon gewohnt war."

Maittaire (1668-1747),[76] who had no knowledge of German literature, those who followed him have also neglected to consider this area.[77] The strength of the European tradition of scholarship on the history of the book in other territories and languages is also prominent, with figures such as Michael Maittaire and Prosper Marchand (1678-1756) more frequently mentioned than German scholars. As Breitkopf acknowledges, the field of bibliography itself is so large that the bibliographers could occupy themselves for a long period of time in tracing the origins of incunabula without touching on the typographic details.[78] As an aid to these analyses, he points to a recent flood of information that has appeared in the last twenty years (or since roughly 1773) from different sources such as bookseller's catalogs but in particular from areas in which the owners of these collections have only recently begun to show interest in the history of books ("besonders aus solchen, wo bisher die Bibliographie keine Beschäftigung für die Besitzer dergleichen gelehrter Schätze gewesen war.")[79] Breitkopf's work calls attention to this particular period in time as the beginning of this type of learned book collecting in the Germanic context,

[76]Maittaire was French by birth but grew up in England and was chiefly known for his writings on the history of printing in Europe. He possessed a book collection so extensive that after his death, the auction of his library lasted for 44 days (*Dictionary of National Biography*. "Maittaire, Michael.")

[77] Breitkopf, 22: "Die Bibliographen haben sich zeither mehr als jemals mit Aufsuchung der gedruckten Bücher des Ersten halben Jahrhunderts der Buchdruckerey beschäftigt [...]. Da alle diese Bemühungen nach ihrem Vorgänger Maittaire eingerichtet waren, der die deutsche Litteratur dabey ganz übergieng, weil er in seiner Lage davon keine Kenntniß erlangen konnte: so habe dessen Nachfolger solche ebenfalls übergangen, und niemand dachte daran, die Schritte der Wissenschaften und der Buchdruckerey zu bemerken, welche die Erfinder derselben in ihrer eigenen Angelegenheit thaten."

[78] Breitkopf, 27.

[79] Breitkopf, 29: "In den Verzeichnissen der Bücher ersten Druckes, die seit zwanzig Jahren aus allen Gegenden, besonders aus solchen, wo bisher die Bibliographie keine Beschäftigung für die Besitzer dergleichen gelehrter Schätze gewesen war; desgleichen in den Werken dieser Art, welche zeither in Italien, Frankreich und Holland erschienen sind; nicht weniger in den Catalogen der ansehlichen wieder zerstreueten Bibliotheken, welche von dem Buchhändler de Bure zu Paris in einer Reihe von Jahren veranstaltet worden, habe sich gleichfalls eine Menge von Jahren veranstaltet worden, habe sich gleichfalls eine Menge von Gegenständen gefunden, die zu Vermehrung und Verbesserung dieser Marchandischen Bemerkungen Gelegenheit und Stoff geben."

since, as he claims, the interest required as well as the necessary source material has only recently begun to appear.

The book collector as presented in Breitkopf's treatise is ideally motivated by scholarly concerns and national pride, rather than the love of beautiful books or the desire to possess valuable objects. While Breitkopf does acknowledge the commercial value of early printed books and the recent fashion for featuring them as "library treasures," he is first and foremost concerned with knowledge and usefulness. The reason to collect rare books is to advance the field of bibliographic knowledge, rather than to display rare treasures; these collections are meant for use.

In a work on book collecting written almost one century later, Otto Mühlbrecht's *Die Bücherliebhaberei in ihrer Entwicklung bis zum Ende des XIX. Jahrhunderts,* the author specifically contextualizes book collecting in the Germanic context over time, pointing to works such as Breitkopf's treatise that stimulated the interest in book collecting (Figure 1). As Mühlbrecht writes:

> The incunabula fell out of use around the mid-sixteenth century and only regained the favor of book lovers at the beginning of the eighteenth century, to be more precise around the year 1740, the third centennial anniversary of printing, when critical attention began to be paid to the invention and the earliest products of printing. The necessity of carefully collecting the old typographic monuments in order to become better acquainted with them, to establish their chronology, to order them systematically and geographically, and to gain the enlightenment only accessible through the works themselves, this necessity brought everything to the light of day, which until that point had remained hidden and ignored. And after this important part of bibliographic research was thoroughly

researched and every book investigated for its meaning, one quickly became more precise in the selection of those which were more or less worthy of attention.[80]

Mühlbrecht describes the demand for the first edition of his book as proof that there is more interest for this topic in Germany than could be expected by the previous lack of literature in this area.[81] A precise definition is lacking for exactly what Mühlbrecht considers "Bücherliebhaberei" but he does note that it is more prevalent in France and Great Britain.[82] His emphasis is definitely on collecting and purchasing. Mühlbrecht carefully notes the cost over time for several works and discusses the fashion for collecting particular works over others (such as works from the presses of Aldus and Elsevier over the Etiennes).[83] In one discussion of future popularity, Mühlbrecht writes of the difficulty of anticipating which works will still be actively used in the future and which will be known only to librarians.[84] His focus remains on the aspect of usage--the valuable works are those which are of use to scholarship, and he writes that there

[80] Mühlbrecht, 126-127: "Die Erstlingsdrucke kamen um die Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts ganz ausser Gebrauch und gewannen die Gunst der Bücherfreunde erst wieder im Anfange des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, genauer bestimmt etwa gegen das Jahr 1740, als man bei Gelegenheit der dritten Säkularfeier der Buchdruckerkunst begann, sich ernsthaft mit der Erfindung und den ersten Erzeugnissen der Buchdruckerkunst zu beschäftigen. Die Notwendigkeit, bei dieser Gelegenheit die alten typographischen Denkmäler sorgfältig zu sammeln, um sie genau kennen zu lernen, ihre Chronologie festzustellen, sie systematisch und geographisch zu ordnen, und die Aufklärung zu gewinnen, die durch die Werke selbst allein zu finden war, diese Notwendigkeit förderte alles zu Tage, was bis dahin verborgen und unbeachtet geblieben war. Und nachdem nun dieser wichtige Teil der bibliographischen Wissenschaft einmal so gründlich erforscht und jedes Buch auf seine Bedeutung hin geprüft war, da wurde man bald genauer in der Auswahl dessen, was der Beachtung mehr oder weniger wert war."

[81] Mühlbrecht, foreword, iv, describes his reaction to the success of the first edition of this work: "Dies erfreut mich besonders deshalb, weil damit der Beweis geliefert ist, dass die Bücherliebhaberei in Deutschland bereits weiter verbreitet ist, als bei dem bisherigen Mangel jeglicher Litteratur darüber angenommen werden konnte." He later emphasizes the impermanence of taste in book collecting, as in all things: "Die Veränderungen, denen alles im Menschenleben, intellektuell und materiell, unterworfen ist, machen sich auch in der Bücherliebhaberei bemerklich, man giebt die alten Richtungen auf, und die heutige Generation fängt an, sich mehr für erste Ausgaben der modernen Autoren zu interessieren" (135).

[82] Mühlbrecht, 1.

[83] Mühlbrecht, 33 and 57, for example.

[84] Mühlbrecht, 9: "Und wie wenige von ihnen werden nach fünfzig Jahren noch anderen Leuten als den Bibliothekaren bekannt sein?"

are particular events that can make a rare work valuable once more: war, scientific expeditions, new discoveries, a literary battle, and so on.[85] He does not mention physical beauty as a quality that is worth pursuing in a book, and larger folio works are discouraged on the grounds that they take up too much space in a private library and can be found in public libraries.[86] Mühlbrecht's target reader is interested in building a private library, as is seen in Mühlbrecht's advice on which books to purchase (for example, he provides advice "bei der Beurteilung der Seltenheit und des Wertes").[87] There is a fixed boundary between the private collector and the public institution of the library.

Mühlbrecht, in his survey of book collecting in France, England, Belgium, Holland, and Germany, repeatedly draws attention to the dramatic increase in book prices from the beginning of the nineteenth century to its end, which he links to the increasing number of book collectors and corresponding increase in demand for rare books. He specifically locates the impetus for this collecting urge in the mid-eighteenth century, and he specifically links it to works written about books and about literature.[88] These works awoke interest in collecting rare books, which in turn led to collectors to think of themselves as collectors as part of the identity of the book collector. Mühlbrecht cites Dibdin's works as responsible for bringing a systematic approach to book

[85] Mühlbrecht, 8.

[86] Mühlbrecht, 10: "Ein moderner Gelehrter, wenn er nicht ein eigenes Haus bewohnt, wird in seiner Bibliothek kaum zwei- bis dreitausend Bände unterbringen können, wenn er überhaupt das Glück hat, sich dauernd einem Raum dafür sichern zu können. Das ist mit ein Grund dafür, dass der heutige Geschmack sich den Auszügen und Kompilationen, den Ausgaben in kleinem Format zuwendet, dass die Gunst sich von den Folianten und Quartanten abgewendet hat, die sonst die Grundbasis einer jeden guten Bibliothek bildeten. Wenn Werke in solchem Format nicht durch andere zu ersetzen sind, so sucht man sie in den öffentlichen Bibliotheken auf, aber man will sie nicht selbst mehr besitzen."

[87] Mühlbrecht, 10.

[88] Mühlbrecht, 254: "In England gab Warton in seine 'History of English poetry' vor etwa hundertundzwanzig Jahren und Joseph Ames in seinen 1749 erschienenen 'Typographical Antiquities' die erste Anregung dazu, seltene Bücher zu sammeln. In jener Zeit hat die moderne Art des Büchersammelns aus Liebhaberei begonnen, wie sie Männer von Rang und Vermögen und intelligente Bücherhandler ausübten."

collecting, as well as for turning it into a mania.[89] Mühlbrecht writes about book love in Germany in such a way as to make the economic foundations of his view of book collecting clear. Book collecting requires money, and lots of it, in order to find full expression in the German population. However, the "German nature" is intrinsically opposed to the idea of valuing a book more for its external qualities than its internal content, and Mühlbrecht focuses on the contributions of German collectors regardless of the limited financial means.[90]

Mühlbrecht also describes the difference between a bibliophile and a bibliomane, which for him is the difference between a harmless hobby and a passion ("Liebhaberei" vs. "Leidenschaft").[91] In his description of bibliomanes, Mühlbrecht uses Jacob Lacroix's *Ma République* to describe the book fool, or *Büchernarr*, in four categories: the "treasure" collectors who collect solely in order to possess; those who indulge their foolishness in creating a collection; envious collectors, and "exclusive" collectors.[92] The first category of collector seeks to acquire valuable, expensive works and hoards them, showing them to no-one; the second type of collector wishes to create a collection in order to be admired for it, without simultaneously

[89] Mühlbrecht, 255.

[90] Mühlbrecht, 312: "Denn die Bücherliebhaberei bewegt sich bei uns noch in bescheidenen Grenzen, verglichen mit der Sammelwut der französischen und englischen Bibliophilen, die für kostbare Einbände und sonstige Äusserlichkeiten übertrieben hohe Preise zahlen. Dabin wird es bei uns voraussichtlich niemals kommen, dieses System des Sammelns, das sich mehr auf das Äussere, wie auf das Innere richtet, widerspricht der Natur des Deutschen. Aber an der Liebe zu Büchern, die zur Liebhaberei wird, wenn sie mehr kaufen lässt, als zur Befriedigung des eigenen Wissensdranges nötig ist, fehlt es auch in Deutschland nicht. Jedem Antiquar wird eine ganze Anzahl von Sammlern bekannt sein. [...] Bisweilen ist von deutschem Sammelfleisse mit geringen Mitteln, aber zäher Ausdauer Staunenswertes geleistet, Sammlungen wie die von Bledow, Goedecke, Hagen, Heyse, Hirzel, Klemm, Maltzahn, Meusebach, Mittler u.a. legen beredtes Zeugnis davon ab, und man kann diesen Männern nur Anerkennung und Bewunderung zollen."

[91] Mühlbrecht, 219.

[92] Mühlbrecht, 219-220.

acquiring the knowledge that underlies it; the third type always wants what he does not have;[93] and the fourth or "exclusive" collector acquires only works of a particular genre or type, which for Mühlbrecht is distinctly negative.[94] It is difficult to understand why the exclusive collector is included in this list, since the other three book fools are supremely unconcerned with the contents of the books they collect and are only interested in acquisition or display. The exclusive collector is specific and focused on one particular topic, regardless of the material value of the works collected, which apparently for Mühlbrecht is inexcusable ignorance. Mühlbrecht goes on to categorize as book fools several anecdotes of men who spend their time in the public libraries of Paris researching specific topics: one man spends twenty years researching every mention of Julius Caesar in works of literature, another spends eight hours per day for three years counting the chapters, verses, words, syllables, letters, and the frequency of various words in the Bible, and so on.[95] For Mühlbrecht, these are foolish activities that benefit no-one and serve only to make a name for themselves, yet these men are book fools not because they collect their own works, but because they interact with them foolishly.

Amazingly, Mühlbrecht's examples of important German collectors are very limited in scope. He lists Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523); the Fugger family in Augsburg; the Hungarian

[93] Mühlbrecht describes the envious collector as a vampire who stalks his victim until he has her, and then seeks a new one ("eine Art von Vampyr, der seine Opfer verfolgt, bis er sie in Händen hat, dann verlieren sie für ihn den Wert und er sucht sich ein neues Opfer") (221).

[94] Mühlbrecht, 221: "Der exklusive Bibliomane schätzt nur eine bestimmte Gattung von Büchern, ihm liegt wenig an der Seltenheit noch an der Eigenart eines Buches, er hat eine 'Kollektion', das ist sein Gott und sein Ideal. War ausserhalb dieser 'Kollektion' ist, interessiert ihn nicht, aber für seine 'Kollektion' scheut er keine Mühe der Nachforschung und keine Kosten der Erwerbung. [...his collection will always remain 'monotone'] Er besitzt z.B. zwölfhundert verschiedene Ausgaben von Petrarca, oder von Voltaire's Schriften hat er nach und nach einige tausend Nummern in allen möglichen Ausgaben zusammengebracht, oder die französische Revolution liegt friedlich begraben in einem wahren Kirchhofe von wertlosem litterarischen Wissen aller Art, die solch ein Bibliomane in Jahrzehnten seines Lebens sammelte."

[95] Mühlbrecht, 222-223.

king Matthias Corvinus;[96] "Bilibald" [sic] Pirckheimer;[97] and at a later point he mentions a number of modern collectors.[98] A higher priority for Mühlbrecht is the context of collecting in Germany, which he foregrounds by describing the book fairs, the book fair catalogs, and the economic situation, which he views as the decisive factor. The German book trade suffered from the lack of a capital city, as was the case in Paris, London, Rome, and Brüssels.[99] Mühlbrecht describes various situations that affect how book collecting and bibliophilia in Germany is portrayed. In particular he focuses on several contemporary writers and their varying interpretations of the current situation in Germany. Ernst Eckstein describes it as a problem for the development of private collecting that lending libraries are so prevalent in Germany. He writes that these lending libraries are unsanitary: "Our most prominent ladies do not blush to take a volume in hand which has passed through so many dirty hands and carries all the odors of a shop."[100] The main problem, however, is that Germans as a whole do not take the time to read,

[96] Mühlbrecht, 286-287, includes Corvinus because many of the books that were in his library came to Germany after its dispersal: Corvinus "[lebte] zwar nicht in Deutschland [...], von dessen Bibliothek aber nach deren Auflösung vieles nach Deutschland gekommen ist."

[97] Mühlbrecht, 290.

[98] Mühlbrecht, 313-314. In the category of modern collectors, Mühlbrecht lists the following men by last name only: Bledow (most likely Ludwig Bledow [1795-1846], a chess player with a collection of over 700 chess books); Goedecke (Karl Friedrich Ludwig Goedeke [1814-1887], author of the *Grundrisz zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* [1857-1881], a standard reference bibliography for German literature); Hagen (mostly likely Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen [1780-1856], a Germanist who specialized in editions of Old German and Middle High German texts and who owned a collection of German folk songs); Heyse (possibly Gustav Ferdinand Heyse [1809-1883], who was the son of Johann Christian August Heyse and who collected works about the Harz region, along with fossils, coins, and other objects); Hirzel (Salomon Hirzel [1804-1877], a publisher in Switzerland who published the Grimms' *Wörterbuch* and who was a passionate collector of old books and manuscripts); Klemm (?); Maltzahn (Hermann von Maltzan [1843-1891], a collector of conch shells and literature); Meusebach (Karl Hartwig Gregor von Meusebach [1781-1847], who collected the works of Martin Luther and literature of the seventeenth century); and Mittler (?). Mühlbrecht does not explain why he has selected these particular individuals as his examples, and he apparently believes that they are so well known that his readers will be able to identify them easily.

[99] Mühlbrecht, 295. In Germany, "wo in den vielen Einzelstaaten jede Residenz um die Palme und den Ruhm, eine Pflanzstätte für Kunst und Wissenschaft zu sein, sich bemüht hat."

[100] Mühlbrecht, 297: "[U]nsere vornehmsten Damen erröten nicht, einen Band in die Hand zu nehmen, der durch so und so viele unsaubere Hände gegangen ist und alle Dürfte eines Materialwarenladens in sich vereinigt."

choosing instead to drink beer, attend the theater, balls, and card-playing societies for pointless political nonsense ("zweckloses politisches Kannegiessern"), and avoiding the type of "spiritual nourishment" that comes from reading.[101] Eduard von Hartmann claims that Germany is the best place for research and book production and Germany's book production far outweighs that of France and England combined ("die jährliche Bücherproduktion Deutschlands grösser ist als diejenige von Frankreich und England zusammen").[102] This situation is changing for a number of reasons related to urbanization and technological developments, including the chaos of modern city life, the increasing mobility of people who live in apartments rather than houses, the increasing cost of books, the lack of time to read, and the way in which newspapers and journals are destroying concentration.[103] Mühlbrecht adds that Julius Rodenberg, in a lecture in 1874, claimed that since Germany was first and foremost a military state in the nineteenth century, it was therefore primarily interested in those things which contributed to the strengthening of the German empire, rather than literature.[104] All of these interpretations deal with one common perception: the situation in Germany is changing and that German society as a whole is moving away from reading and book ownership.

Mühlbrecht himself speculates that Germans do not own as many books as the inhabitants of other countries for economic reasons. In his forty years of experience as a book

[101] Mühlbrecht, 297-299.

[102] Mühlbrecht, 299.

[103] Mühlbrecht, 299-300. Hartmann suggests several remedies for what he sees as a cultural decline, most notably "Die gebildete Jugend bis zu dreissig Jahren sollte ebensowenig Zeitungen lesen, wie Politik treiben, sondern alle ihre verfügbare Zeit auf Bücher verwenden" (300). Many discussions of the future of the book in our contemporary context discuss the future of the printed book in pessimistic terms, and often they describe the same situation as Hartmann--the lack of the ability to concentrate--and attribute it to causes such as television, the internet, social media, and computer games.

[104] Mühlbrecht, 303.

dealer, he views Germany as a country in which lack of economic resources inhibit book purchasing, rather than lack of interest in reading or the increasing urbanization: "Neither in France nor in England are as many books read as in Germany, and in principle that is what matters the most! If we do not buy as many books as our neighbors, the English, French, and Dutch--and I admit that is true--then it is because our nation is not as wealthy as they are."[105] Mühlbrecht's points of comparison are always England and France, with other countries occasionally mentioned, but these two always appear as his symbols of book-collecting nations. The paradigms of book collecting he connects with them, such as the love of the French for the external qualities of the book and the propensity of the English to spend huge sums of money on them, regardless of the condition, are paradigms he contrasts with the Germans. The Germans love books, read books, and produce them at an astounding rate, but they are not the same type of book collectors because they do not have the means and are not in any case predisposed to spend their money in such ways. The Germans are scientific, they are scholarly, and they are interested in the books for the sake of knowledge, but Mühlbrecht's final sentences also draw attention to an aspect of collecting that, at least in this work, is overshadowed by the financial aspect: the national or historical connection between the people of the past and those of the present. Mühlbrecht describes the way in which "Bücherliebhaberei" has developed in the past century in Germany, despite revolutions and political upheavals, and notes that it is growing stronger and stronger. When he questions the future of "Bücherliebhaberei," he closes by stating

[105] Mühlbrecht, 301: "[W]eder in Frankreich, noch in England so viel Bücher gelesen werden, als in Deutschland, und darauf kommt es doch wohl im Grunde genommen am meisten an! Wenn bei uns nicht so viele Bücher gekauft werden, als bei unseren Nachbaren, den Engländern, Franzosen und Holländern--und ich gebe das als richtig zu--, so liegt es daran, dass unsere Nation nicht so reich ist, wie jene es sind."

his belief that it will continue to increase.[106] For Mühlbrecht, the German national character is closely linked with the love of books and of knowledge and information.

The issue of gender is more complicated in Mühlbrecht's analysis. Mühlbrecht's work is heavily focused on Germany and the Germanic tradition of book collecting, speculating about its past and future, and exploring its history. Mühlbrecht's work, like many others, includes women in his list of examples, but there are none in his section on bibliophily in Germany. Elsewhere, Mühlbrecht's examples of book collectors in France include the following women: Louise Labé and Charlotte Guillard; Louise of Savoy, the mother of Francis I., and her daughter Marguerite de Navarre; Diana de Poitiers as a co-collector with Henry II; Catherine de Medici; Marie of Scotland, who was married to one of Catherine's sons; Louise von Lothringen; Margarete de Valois; Anne of Austria; Queen Marie Lesczinska; the three daughters of Louis XV; and Madame Pompadour and Madame du Barry.[107] It is difficult to ignore the fact that many of these women could equally be described as "German" or from other countries, rather than as uniquely French. Mühlbrecht's list of English book collectors also includes one pivotal woman in his list of nobles: Queen Elisabeth.[108] These women are all noble and powerful figures from the past, which is why they are included, but Mühlbrecht moves beyond his contemporaries Uzanne and the other French bibliophiles in permitting women to be genuine collectors:

> In all of the lists of "women of the past," which Guigard, Quentin-Bauchart, Uzanne, and other modern bibliophiles created, it is difficult to discover one woman who preferred the contents of the books to their exteriors. Uzanne claims that no female bibliophile ever

[106] Mühlbrecht, 318: "ich nehme vielmehr an, dass unsere Nachkommen ihre Vorfahren ebenso achten und lieben werden, wie wir selbst, und zwar auch in ihren Büchern."

[107] Mühlbrecht, 229-232.

[108] Mühlbrecht, 256.

> demonstrated a passion similar to that of Grolier or De Thou; that even Marie Antoinette at Trianon kept her thousands of books like birds in an aviary, without any concept of their inner value or capability to make use of them. An example to the contrary may be permitted to counter this harsh judgment. The Duchess de Berry from our own time possessed a serious collection which was assembled under her direction; it contained the Book of Hours of Henry II, the prayer book of Johanna of Naples, the best books of Margarete de Valois and of Marie Lesczinska. Princess Pauline Bonaparte was also the owner of a carefully selected library.[109]

While Mühlbrecht has difficulty finding in these lists of female bibliophiles an example of a female book collector who preferred the contents of the book over its aspect as an artifact, he refuses to agree that such a woman does not exist. Instead, he takes exception to the way in which they have been judged and offers a counter-example. He refuses to agree that women and books are intrinsically opposed to one another.

In the comparison of Breitkopf and Mühlbrecht's treatises on bibliophily and book collecting, certain themes are clear. Both writers view book collecting as inherently related to use of the books collected; both are clearly interested in encouraging the spread of collecting among the German population since they connect it with the preservation of a uniquely Germanic heritage and past. Both writers describe a crisis in book collecting and textual interaction during

[109] Mühlbrecht, 233-234: "In allen den Listen der 'Damen der alten Zeit', die Guigard, Quentin-Bauchart, Uzanne, und andere modern Bibliophilen aufgestellt [sic], ist es schwer, eine zu entdecken, die das Innere der Bücher dem Äusseren derselben vorgezogen hätte. Uzanne behauptet, dass kein weiblicher Bibliophile in Frankreich jemals eine Leidenschaft gezeigt habe, wie sie Grolier oder De Thou begeisterte; dass selbst Marie Antoinette in Trianon ihre Tausende von Büchern wie Vögel in einer Volière hielt, ohne Begriff von ihrem inneren Werte oder Befähigung, sich richtig gebrauchen zu können. Diesem harten Urteile gegenüber mag ein Beispiel von Gegenteil anzuführen erlaubt sein. Die Herzogin de Berry aus unserer eigenen Zeit besass eine ernsthafte Sammlung, die unter ihrer Leitung gebildet war; man fand darin das Livre d'Heures von Heinrich II., das Gebetbuch der Johanna von Neapel, die besten Bücher der Margarete de Valois und der Marie Lesczinska. Auch die Prinzessin Pauline Bonaparte war Besitzerin einer auserlesenen Bibliothek."

the period in which they are writing. Yet the construction of the role of a book collector in Mühlbrecht's work is far more concrete in that he specifically contrasts his type of private collecting with institutional collecting and focuses on the economic reality of the context of collecting. For Mühlbrecht, the book collector is established as an identity, with clear boundaries and meanings.

1.5 Models of the Book Collector

In this section we have seen how the identity of the book collector changed in the period after 1789 and how our modern constructions of this identity depend on an awareness of collecting as a systematic, methodic, and visible act. Whether expressed consciously by the collector or interpreted by external observers, the idea is that there is a "narrative" underlying the act of collecting that is based on an analysis of the objects in the collection. Yet the identification of a book collector is often based on other factors. As Jochen Bepler asks in his interpretation of one collection and its role in the life of Ferdinand Albrecht of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1636-1687), "[w]ie kommt es zu dieser rastlosen Suche nach einer Identität?"[110] In his analysis of the typology of Ferdinand Albrecht as a collector, Bepler concludes that Ferdinand Albrecht's collection is a site for compensatory confirmation and reassurance after he was excluded from the inheritance of the territory. Ferdinand Albrecht is searching for his own identity through his collecting. The book collection thus becomes an "Abbild" or reflection of Ferdinand Albrecht himself. In this analysis, the persona or identity of the book collector is the focus of study and the attempt to understand the collection must occur in the attempt to understand the person who assembled it.

[110] Jochen Bepler, 18.

Although descriptions of collectors and explorations of the impulse to collect are numerous, I have yet to discover an exploration of the way in which the decisions are made about who is to be considered a book collector, particularly in the case of the gendered aspect of representations of book collectors. Book collectors have been depicted in many ways for many years in literature, but as yet I have not discovered an exploration of the criteria that underlie these depictions. There is no consensus about what it means to represent oneself, and to be represented by others, as a collector of written records in any systematic form. The theoretical works dealing with theories of collecting frequently portray it in an abstract manner, as a universal human desire that all-too-often ignores or negates the influence of gendered biases in these supposedly objective universal analyses. Reference works provide general definitions but not specific context in terms of actual collectors and the criteria for that designation. Many sources list notable depictions or collectors as a means of illustrating the history of collecting; more specifically, they provide a list of anecdotes and incidents that illustrate their own definition of a collector without explicitly clarifying what that definition includes. Sources that focus on individual collectors, seeking to understand the act of collecting and the motivations of the collector, frame their representations on expectations about what it means to be a collector. Models of book collectors, such as the book hunter, shape these expectations.

This section provides an overview of several constructions or models of book collectors and the criteria that underlie these representations. These constructions are not mutually exclusive, nor is this intended to serve as a comprehensive list of all possible connotations connected with the activity of book collecting. This overview is intended to serve as a starting point for investigations into the ways in which book collecting is depicted and represented in order to examine later how those who collect are represented and represent themselves. In

particular, this survey confirms how the externally-formed models shape perceptions of the available information. In evaluating the many studies of book collecting that deal with the collector and interpreting constructions of that identity, many different perspectives and paradigms can be summarized into three major threads: book collecting as an activity dealing with the book as an object, as an activity dealing with the contents of the books, and as an expression of the identity or personality of the individual collector. In other words, book collecting can be framed and analyzed as an object-centered, a content-centered, or an identity-centered activity. The way in which the book or text collector is represented depends largely on the way in which their collection is perceived, and their collection is also interpreted through the perspective of the analysis of the collector. The motivation of the collector determines not only the quality of a collection, but whether a collection is genuine. A collection without an underlying motive or system is merely an accumulation of objects, since it is the context that provides the collection with meaning and ties it together. Since self-identification or sense of identity is considered one defining characteristic of a modern book collector, and since the systematic and deliberate collecting of texts is another, determining and evaluating a collection in which these characteristics are not explicit results in subjective interpretations. Since these types of subjective judgments and perceptions of an individual as a serious collector with a valuable collection are often highly influential in determining what will be preserved, it is essential to consider how these judgments are formed, and what role is played by categories such as gender.

In order to examine and understand the construction of the book collector, in this dissertation the terms “emic” and “etic” designate my two different analytical foci. First used by the linguist Kenneth Pike in 1954, the terms “emic” and “etic” are used to differentiate between

two constructions that are intended to model behavior within a culture.[111] "Emic" refers to a culturally specific model that is based on information and data from within the system, while "etic" refers to a universally-applicable model that "is based on criteria from outside a particular culture."[112] Both models are necessarily constructed by the observer, but the etic model is often presented as a more objective one while the emic exists in a more "subjective" context. As Barnard and Spencer point out, however, the "objective" etic observer is shaped by an emic understanding of the subject matter that affects the model in ways which may not be apparent to this observer.[113] Since "universally applicable," supposedly objective models of book collectors can be seen to rely heavily on the unexamined category of gender as a defining characteristic, etic models that form the foundation of who is considered a book collector and the criteria that underlie that definition need to be examined. If an etic model of the book collector is seen in these examples of constructions, an "emic" model would be one that is based on the data available within a particular context from first-hand reports and accounts.

Content-Centered Depictions of the Book Collector

Many works dealing with the history of book collecting and the history of libraries state that there was a shift in collecting paradigms at some point, either in the seventeenth or in the eighteenth century. There are differing reasons given for this shift. Mühlbrecht associates it with the rise in literature about collecting.[114] Pearson writes that in England, the turn of the eighteenth

[111] Barnard and Spencer, 276-278.

[112] Barnard and Spencer, ibid.

[113] Barnard and Spencer, 278: "What guarantee is there that the observer's supposedly objective, etic model is not in fact his or her own emic one?"

[114] Mühlbrecht, 254-255.

century was the period in which it became fashionable to collect rare or beautiful books.[115] According to Lucius, collectors in earlier periods collected texts for their contents, as a means to ensure access to and preserve rare materials, and the ideal goal was to assemble a universal and comprehensive library.[116] Lucius writes that during the period 1700-1750 collectors realized that it would be impossible to collect everything, and thus began to see the book as an object, not a vessel for transmitting its contents.[117] Anthony Hobson supports this theory when he writes that in the treatise by Gabriel Naudé (1600-1653) on assembling a library, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (1627), he recommends those who are collecting books to purchase works on all subjects, in the best available editions, without considering the age or appearance of the book as a criteria.[118] Hobson refers to Sir Thomas Bodley (1545-1613), the founder of the Bodleian Library, and Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) as examples for the "break" in the tradition of collection. He notes that while Bodley was a universal collector who "seems one of the last in a tradition stretching back to Cassiodorus; Pepys, with his taste for English literature, voyages and navigation, and science, is a recognizably modern collector" since his interests were more specialized.[119] However, in *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque*, Naudé lists three maxims that contradict the opinions of those who despise all modern authors and read only the ancients; those who value books only for their price and size; and those who value only new books and who are "disgusted" by the appearance of older works ("leur seule impression noire et Gothique met dans le dégoust des plus délicats Estudians de ce siècle, et ne permet pas qu'ils les puissent regarder

[115] Pearson, 2.

[116] Lucius, 36-43.

[117] Lucius, 36.

[118] Hobson 1970, 14.

[119] Hobson 1970, 213.

qu'à la honte et au mespris de ceux qui les ont composez").[120] While Naudé might not have agreed with those who collected books based on size, age, and other text-external criteria, his maxims suggest that the type of collecting that valued books for such features rather than for their contents was already well known. Lerner ties this shift to the production of knowledge and the rise of institutional libraries in the latter half of the eighteenth century.[121] As the lower cost of printed books made them accessible, both through purchase and through institutions such as lending libraries and coffee houses, to a broader audience who increasingly viewed them as utilitarian tools, the separation between book owner and book collector became more defined. The collector became associated with luxury rather than use.[122]

The ways in which the collector who is first and foremost concerned with the contents of the books is represented tend to focus on the result of the collecting activity: the collection. The book collector becomes a founder of an institution, the source of knowledge and wisdom, or a warrior, who creates or destroys collections in order to provide useful weapons in an ongoing conflict. The contents of the books, rather than their external features, are the primary consideration since they contribute to the value of the collection as a whole and its usefulness.

The book collector as founder, with the library as the decisive instrument for scholarship, is one recurring construction influenced by the humanist movement. Figures such as Pope Nicolas V (1397-1455), who had been the librarian for Cosimo de Medici and who founded the Bibliotheca Vaticana; Gabriel Naudé, who was the librarian for the Cardinal de Mazarin and who assembled the Bibliothèque Mazarine, which later became the first public library in France; and

[120] Naudé, 46, 49, and 54.

[121] Lerner, 125.

[122] Lerner, 109. He writes that "the collector, whether motivated of love of literature or delight in ostentation, eagerly sought out a physical artifact appropriate to the housing of the literary craftsmanship he treasured" (109).

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716), who was the librarian at the princely libraries in Hanover and Wolfenbüttel and who was integral to the development of library organization in Germany, are used as examples of book collectors who assembled collections for the purpose of scholarship.[123] The focus of this type of collector is framed first and foremost to advance and support scholarship by creating the most valuable and useful resource: a collection that is designed to function as a cohesive whole, as a systematic tool. Naudé's *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* advocated assembling as many books as possible in order to create the biggest and most comprehensive collection possible. This collecting ideal shared by many, including Nicolas V, who modeled his library on the classical examples of Pergamum and Alexandria.[124] Leibniz, among others, championed the Senecan ideal of a small and well selected library representing the best works on a wide spectrum of human knowledge as most useful.[125] Both styles of collecting, and the ways in which they are represented, are founded on the value of the contents of the works rather than on their appearance, provenance, or other text-external factors, and both claim their origins in classical ideals. The collection is a type of instrument or tool that exists to fulfill a purpose (such as to make sense of the world), and the collector is framed as the source of wisdom and knowledge.

In contrast to the previous construction, which emphasizes the use of the collection for the benevolent pursuit of scholarship in an abstract and broadly defined context, another construction of the content-based book collector emphasizes one specific and direct (and not always benevolent) purpose for collecting books: in order to restrict or control access to

[123] Lorenz, 8.

[124] Grafton 1997, 21.

[125] Grafton 1997, for example, discusses the examples laid out in Angelo Decembrio's *De politia litteraria* (1462), a set of dialogues surveying the cultural life of the court of Ferrara under Leonello d'Este, which reference Seneca's advice that "[a] large quantity of books distracts the mind" (Grafton, 26-27).

information. The book or text as a weapon appears in one early term for a book collection: "armarium" or place where weapons (*arma*) are stored, and the book collection has also been called the armory of Protestantism ("Rüstkammer des Protestantismus").[126] Examples of leaders who are described as having targeted libraries for capture include Alexander the Great (356-323 BC),[127] Christina of Sweden,[128] and Maximilian I, Elector of Bavaria (1573-1651), who gave orders to capture the Palatine Library and presented much of it to Pope Gregory XV.[129] Capturing enemy collections is a way to deprive one's opponents of knowledge and humiliate them at the same time. In this construction, knowledge and access to information represent power. Collecting is a means to an end--a type of battle tactic.

The construction of the book collector as a book hunter is very common, and while in many ways it could be seen as an object-centered activity, the most frequent references to book hunters are linked to the early humanists, who would be considered as more interested in the contents of the works they sought.[130] The most well-known figures associated with this construction are humanist scholars such as Petrarch (1304-1374),[131] Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), and Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459)[132] who are famous for their roles in rediscovering classical texts.[133] The early humanists are often depicted as book collectors as a rule, since they

[126] Jochen Bepler, 14.

[127] See Thiem 1979.

[128] See Tauss and Basbanes, 29.

[129] Lerner, 107-108.

[130] See, for example, Bracciolini, Reynolds & Wilson, Otte, Sommer, Lucius, and Grafton 1997.

[131] Reynolds and Wilson, 128-134.

[132] See Bracciolini.

[133] These humanistic book hunters have come to symbolize and to serve as a type of personification of the Renaissance; as Krummel writes: "[T]he Renaissance was in a sense born in libraries, as Petrarch, Boccaccio,

needed to assemble collections of the texts necessary for research.[134] Yet the early humanists were interested primarily in preserving and providing access to the contents of the manuscripts they discovered, and once these had been copied, the originals were considered less important.[135] Manuscripts would be turned over to the printers to serve as copy for the printed versions and were often not returned to the authors.[136] Petrarch also used his manuscripts as notebooks on his travels, writing lists of his favorite books and other comments on what to modern classicists would be priceless texts.[137]

Book collectors in general are often depicted as hunters, with the book or text itself, rather than its contents, as a type of trophy to be won, yet this construction appears to be reserved exclusively for male collectors.[138] Book collecting as hunting also emphasizes the competitive nature of collecting. Dibdin's *Bibliomania or Book-Madness* in particular is filled with descriptions of auctions in which two or more participants are engaged in an epic battle for a

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Poggio and other humanist poets and scholars sought out the evidence of a lost antiquity. Much as the loss of the Alexandrian library is our symbolic legend of the decline of classical civilization, Boccaccio's visit to Mount Cassino is our symbolic legend of the Renaissance" (9).

[134] See, for example, Reynolds & Wilson, Chapter 4; Lerner, Chapter 7; Febvre and Martin, 262-287; and Chappell, 18-20. For a discussion of the essential nature of the library for research in the humanities, see Fabian 1998. Dall'Asta writes that "Für einen Humanisten war es eine Selbstverständlichkeit, sich eine eigene Bibliothek aufzubauen" (120). Lorenz writes that claims that libraries are the decisive work instrument for the humanist ("die Bibliothek ist das entscheidende Arbeitsinstrument der Humanisten" [8]).

[135] Reynolds and Wilson, 139-140.

[136] Ibid., and Lerner, 97.

[137] Reynolds and Wilson, 131. There is also a revealing description on this page of Petrarch that contrasts his activities with those of a book collector: "More significant than the mere range of his books was the intensity with which he read and re-read those he thought important; for it was easy in the Renaissance to degenerate into a mere book collector." Presumably a "mere" book collector is someone who owned books but did not read them, which is clearly framed pejoratively here, yet one of the major defining features of the modern book collector is precisely this lack of utilitarian purpose. Wulf D. von Lucius makes clear the distinction between a "Sammlung" and a "Lesebibliothek" (26).

[138] I have not yet encountered an early modern female book collector who is described as a huntress. Christina of Sweden, who actively pursued her book collecting activities and could be described as a book hunter in her activities during the Thirty Years' War, was described as the "Minerva of the North" (Jürgs, 8). Basbanes notes that she named her library the Bibliotheca Alessandrina and compared herself to a female Alexander the Great (29).

particular work. The construction of the book hunter implies the direct and immediate engagement of the collector in personally acquiring the book, which was not always the case, since large-scale collecting requires assistance from book agents and dealers.[139] It also hints that the collector's interest in the book or text is limited to the narrative of its acquisition, with its value and prestige increasing in proportion to its rarity.

Object-Centered Depictions of the Book Collector

The book collector as an investor and speculator presents perhaps the most direct contrast to the perception of the book collector who is interested in the contents of the book, since those who purchase books as investments are primarily interested in qualities that have nothing to do with the contents of the book. Rare books, like many collectable objects, have several different values. Most of the other constructions listed here focus on the intangible, subjective, and emotional value of a book, but the financial aspect is constantly present. The most prominent figures associated with book collecting as an investment are book dealers and book sellers; there appears to be a perception that book collecting should be pursued for other purposes and those who invest in books for purely financial reasons are somehow not proper collectors. For example, Mühlbrecht's work lists auction prices almost religiously but insists that books are to be used for scholarship. Ellis writes about the financial aspect of book collecting but frames it as an activity for those who truly love books.

The book collector as aesthete is a construction based on text-external features, such as the physical appearance of the book, and is frequently described as "Italian" or "French."[140] Its

[139] See Härtel.

[140] For example, in his description of the Royal Library in Brussels, Hobson writes of the family of Philip the Good, 3rd Duke of Burgundy (1396-1467), that "[a] taste for jewels, gold and silver plate, and books had become hereditary in the French princes descended from his great-grandfather, John II of France" (Hobson 1970, 93). This type of collecting is framed here as almost genetic in the way it is transmitted.

physical and sensual nature is often noted. Figures associated with this type of collecting include Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary (1443-1490), founder of the Bibliotheca Corviniana;[141] Federigo de Montefeltro, the Duke of Urbino (1422-1482), who is said to have refused to admit any printed books into his collection;[142] and Louis XIV of France (1638-1715).[143] Women are more often connected to this construction of book collecting, with figures such as Catherine de Médici (1519-1589) and Diane de Poitiers (1499-1566), frequently cited.[144] Perhaps because this type of collecting is associated with beautiful and luxurious books, some writers considered it more "feminine." In his 1895 work *The Book-Hunter in London*, W. Roberts wrote in his chapter on "Women Book Collectors" that English women are not known to be book collectors, while in France the opposite is true: "several books have been published there [in France] on the subject of *les femmes bibliophiles*. An analysis of their book-possessions, however, leads one to the conclusion that with them their sumptuously-bound volumes partake more of the nature of bijouterie than anything else."[145] Since this perception views women by their very nature as more inclined to collect ornate and "pretty" books, the implication is that the contents are less important and less relevant. This construction is definitely more ambiguously portrayed; it is often an obsession or compulsion.[146]

[141] See Hobson 1970.

[142] Chappell and Bringhurst, 94.

[143] See Chartier.

[144] See Hobson, Jackson, Gere and Vaizey.

[145] Roberts, 259.

[146] See, for example, Jackson's description of literary dandies whose desire for rarity and novelty can draw them to collecting bindings made from human skin (Jackson, vol. 2, 89.)

Another representation that focuses on the collector as interested in the external features of books is the book fool. Depictions of the collector as a book fool (*Büchernarr*) are quite numerous, but they vary widely. The best-known example is Sebastian Brant's 1492 *Narrenschiff* (*Ship of Fools*), which gives pride of place to the *Büchernarr* as the very first fool. The multiplicity of constructions associated with the book fool, especially a book fool who hates books and sees no value in them, demonstrates the flexibility of this depiction.[147] Folly is that which the writer decides it to be. Collecting in terms of foolishness often appears, which seems to depend more on the perspective of the writer than on objective criteria or characteristics such as number of books or the way in which they are used.[148] For example, in the satirical *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* [*Letters of Obscure Men*] (1515-1517), the scholar and theologian Hardwin von Grätz (Ortuinus Gratius) is mocked as a book lover who cares more for the external appearance of his library than the contents, which in other contexts could single him out for praise as a bibliophile.[149] In K. Lesley Knieriem's study of the book-fools of the Renaissance, which overviews the driving forces behind their collecting, it is difficult to find in the list of examples provided a single defining characteristic of a "book-fool" or even examples of folly. Some figures are depicted as interested in the luxurious bindings and high-quality materials of

[147] For example, humanist scholar and preacher, Johann Geiler von Kaisersberg (1445-1510) used the *Narrenschiff* as the basis for his own list of book fools. He outlined a type of book fool for each of the seven bells on a fool's cap: the first fool collects books for "glory"; the second wishes to gain wisdom by reading too many books; the third collects without reading his books; the fourth collects beautifully illustrated texts; the fifth chooses luxurious bindings for his books; the sixth ignorantly and blindly writes and publishes books without having read the classics and with no attention to grammar, spelling, and the rules of rhetoric; and the seventh and final fool categorically hates books and the knowledge in them (Geiler von Kaysersberg).

[148] Knieriem, Basbanes, Jackson, Carter & Barker, and Munby 1967 all have differing definitions of what causes folly in a book fool.

[149] See, for example, *Le Prince des Bibliophiles.*

their books, but all were recognized for their legitimate scholarly accomplishments.[150] Women also appear to be absent from this depiction of collecting. While there appears to be an absence of a corresponding *Büchernärrin*, or female book fool, in literature of the period, a variation exists on Brant's *Narrenschiff*, Josse Bade's *Stultiferę naves sensus animosqs trahentes Mortis in exitium* [The Ship of Female Fools and the Five Senses . . . drawn toward Death and Ruin] (1500).[151] This work deals specifically with those vices deemed to be particularly associated with women and focuses on their sensual and seductive nature. It does not include the figure of the female book fool on the first page, or, indeed, anywhere at all. One of the defining characteristics of Brant's *Büchernarr* is his inability to read and understand the works in his collection. He proudly proclaims that mere ownership makes him learned. The books are objects to him, similar to furniture, and he displays them with pride. Some of the figures depicted as book fools demonstrated an awareness of the ways in which their collecting activities could be negatively perceived, but they are hardly comparable to Brant's *Büchernarr,* who is satisfied, perhaps even proud, that he has never read many of his books and is unable to understand them. Later the term book-fool can be used as a way of describing those who have too many books, or who consider themselves book-fools as a point of pride, which leads us to the next depiction.

The Identity-Centered Depiction of the Book Collector

The type of constructions that are relevant here are those that relate the collection to the character or personality of the collector who assembles it. The focus is on the collection as a reflection of the collector's own identity. Collecting, in this sense, is not an activity but instead becomes a mirror into the soul of the collector. Collecting is no longer that which a person does,

[150] Knieriem lists the following as case studies of book fools: Richard de Bury, John Tiptoft, Raphael de Marcatellis, Jean Grolier, Johannes Trithemius, John Leland, Matthew Parker, and Thomas Bodley.

[151] See Pinson.

but instead who that person is. Identity-centered collections are also those that begin with a famous or notorious person and seek to analyze that person based on the books that surrounded that person.[152] This person thus becomes identified as a collector second-hand, as it were, starting not with the collection, but with his or her reputation.

The use of the label "bibliophile" expresses an identity, and labeling someone a bibliophile carries a particular judgment regarding that person's character (i.e., there are no part-time bibliophiles). The most common features of this construction appear to be love of books as a motivation for collecting and the desire to interact with them. The bibliophile is not merely interested in the acquisition or in the books as representations of status, but in a relationship with the books themselves. The relationship between authorship and artistic production and book collecting presents additional complexity. Must a bibliophile be a collector? The writer and book designer Klaus-Dieter Brunotte connects reading and collecting to book production, stating that in order to support the creation of expensive and unprofitable "bibliophilic books" ("bibliophilen Bücher"), those who love them must accept new methods of production.[153] Rather than passively acquiring books after they have been produced, the collector must take an active role in supporting the creation of books in order to ensure that they will continue to exist. The book artist Mikhail Karasik writes that "the book is a living organism that devours one's strength and time [...and] for bibliophiles, a book is part of the soul, part of life; for artists, it is a profession and creativity […] The text always takes second place for me. Although the text is important, it is not the most important thing when designing a book. It exists on its own, whereas the book is a

[152] See, for example, Timothy Ryback's study of Hitler's books and how they shaped his life.

[153] Brunotte, 18-29.

thing, a material object."[154] The book thus becomes the physical incarnation of something more than the text. It becomes its own unique form, essential to the survival of the true bibliophile, to whom it is part of the soul, part of life itself. Here there is a distinction between the artist or writer and the bibliophile that rests on a comparison between the consumption and incorporation of the book into the soul. The artist creates the book; the collector is sustained by it. The book devours those who interact with it, "living" on and in them. In this way, those who collect books exist in a kind of symbiotic host-parasite relationship.

A related term, "bibliomane," can vary in degree from "a book-collector with a slightly wild look in his eye"[155] to an individual who suffers from a type of psychological illness that leads to book theft and other crimes.[156] This last usage appears most frequently in modern studies of collecting, such as Nicolas Basbanes' *A Gentle Madness.* Bibliophiles and bibliomanes are related to one another. The difference seems to lie in the degree of obsession and in the boundaries that are crossed. In Jackson's treatise dealing with bibliomania, the tension between bibliomania and bibliophilia is best illustrated by a constant comparison between the two: bibliomania is "perverted bibliophily."[157] A bibliophile becomes a bibliomane when the situation has gotten out of hand in questionable ways. While a bibliophile might have books as friends, a bibliomane might have *only* books as friends.

Another category refers to book collectors who were required or expected to possess multiple books as a function of their social position, professional identity, and status. The members of these professions are book collectors almost by default. In Bernd Lorenz' work

[154] Karasik, 34-35.

[155] Carter and Barker, 38.

[156] See Jackson and Merriweather.

[157] Jackson, vol I, 247.

Allgemeinbildung und Fachwissen: Deutsche Ärzte und ihre Privatbibliotheken (1992), he makes clear the strong connection between medical doctors and private book collections throughout history, beginning with Socrates.[158] Doctors, as members of the upper class, had access and the necessary resources to assemble private book collections for their own use. But for Lorenz, the library or book collection takes on a greater meaning: the history of libraries is the history of education. Certain early modern doctors made important contributions to the field of librarianship and book collecting, such as Gabriel Naudé and Konrad Gessner (1516-1565), who developed systems of classification.[159] In addition to professions such lawyers and doctors, who as a matter of course required access to texts, writers and scholars needed to assemble working collections.[160] The professional collector can be viewed in opposition to the true or genuine collector, who acquires books and texts for reasons other than practical use. One of the major defining features of the modern book collector as an identity appears to be precisely the lack of a specific utilitarian purpose. The distinction between reading and collecting is repeatedly emphasized. One guide to modern collecting states that the reading copy is the book "you can take to the beach or into the bathtub […] If you buy a book with anything in mind other than collecting, you're buying a reading copy."[161] The idea that usage is in contrast with collecting appears in studies such as Thomas Wright's study of Oscar Wilde's books. These are collections that necessarily must be used, and which exist for use. Whether their owner and user is seen as a collector is ambiguous and undefined.

[158] Lorenz, 1.

[159] Lorenz, 8.

[160] See, for example, Reynolds and Wilson, Lerner, Chartier, and Grafton 2009.

[161] Ellis,1.

Book collecting can also be constructed as a biological or national identity. In this construction, the book collector is described as acting on a biologically-determined or innate characteristic. While certain types of collecting are often described as French or Italian, this type of identification moves beyond a discussion of style and fashion and casts book collecting as the expression of certain instinctive qualities that move beyond the individual to apply to an entire group. These innate qualities demonstrate the prejudices and stereotypes of their context. Mühlbrecht draws clear distinctions between the German character and that of other nations in reference to collecting. Writing in 1893, Charles and Mary Elton could claim that seventeenth-century Germans were, presumably in contrast to the French, uninterested in the external features of texts: "We do not suppose that many Germans of that day loved books for their delicate appearance, or the damask and satin of their 'pleasant coverture.'"[162] In his discussion of the book market around the time of the French Revolution, for example, Munby attributes the more limited destruction of books in Germany to an "innate racial respect for property."[163] Women are also unified into one cohesive group in this construction, which is then used to generalize and flatten multiple experiences into one.

Book collectors can also be framed here as members of a select community consisting of different professions and identifications who share common knowledge. The constellation of the book community, consisting of librarians, book collectors, and book dealers, is frequently referenced. They are assumed to have special knowledge and are depicted as insiders or the initiated who have a special relationship with texts. Carter refers to four "estates" in the "republic

[162] Elton and Elton, 90.

[163] Munby, 15.

of bibliophily": booksellers, bibliographers, librarians, and collectors.[164] Bartlett and McDade refer to these members of community of books and discuss the ways in which the community unites against book thieves. In his preface, Munby explains one of the reasons he has allowed his six-volume study of the book collector Sir Thomas Phillipps to be condensed and republished as one volume is to appeal to a larger audience: "Few readers who are not librarians, booksellers or book collectors, however, can be expected to quarry what is readable from the great mass of what is technical."[165] Readers who are not members of these groups might not be interested in the technical "mass," but they also are not skilled in deciphering it. In addition to special knowledge of books, networks with fellow members and acceptance into their select company appears to be a requirement for membership. Booksellers and librarians, however, are not usually considered to fall into the category of book collectors since this activity is constructed as a private occupation rather than a professional occupation.

This chapter provides an overview of theories of collecting that focus on collecting as a universal human desire and theories that focus on book collecting as a unique type of collecting. It discusses ways in which the book collector as an identity is constructed and defined, with the result that the motivation of the collector remains the primary etic "stated" category, but that other criteria such as gender appear to play a decisive role in many analyses. It also explores ways in which the identity of the book collector appears to have shifted in the Germanic context, and how two writers shape the identity of the book collector within the Germanic context by constant comparison with England and France into a type of national self-identity crisis. The following chapters study the women collectors in order to understand how they themselves

[164] Carter, 76.

[165] Munby, xi.

conceived of their own activities. If the previous models were all generated using the "etic" form of applying an existing model to a data set, then looking at the data surrounding these women and using it to generate an "emic" model that fits the data set itself serves to establish the definition of a book collector in the early modern Germanic context.

CHAPTER TWO: FOLLOWING THE EVIDENCE: TWO EARLY MODERN GERMAN WOMEN AND THEIR COLLECTIONS

The definition of a book collector, and the criteria that are used to define and justify that designation, is itself fluid and varies depending on the context. During the period between the invention of the movable-type printing press and the French revolution (roughly 1450-1790), the increasing availability of and opportunities for interaction with books and printed texts led to dramatic changes in the way that books, and written information in general, were transmitted, exchanged, preserved, and represented.[1] During this period, which is often depicted as the time of a shift in paradigms of collecting, those who interacted with books and written texts also began to be perceived in new ways. The role of the book collector, which is a role that has changed dramatically over time, is important to study since it reveals a great deal about how books and information are perceived as well as about who is seen as appropriate for this role. The reevaluation of the contributions of women during this period, and the roles open to them, are fertile ground for exploration.[2] Women's libraries and their role in the cultural context of information exchange in the early modern period has become a significant topic for research.[3] Important work has been done on the role of the *Sammlerinnen* at court and their role in the transmission and preservation of texts. Women who collected, and their role as collectors, are now being studied with increasing interest but their own representation of this role, as expressed

[1] See Eisenstein, who describes the revolutionary nature of this change: "As an agent of change, printing altered methods of data collection, storage and retrieval systems and communications networks used by learned communities in Europe" ("Preface," xvi). In addition to affecting printed documents, these changes must also have affected all aspects of handwritten texts and how they were viewed.

[2] See Schiebinger, Wunder, Bastl, Becker-Cantarino 1987, Baumbach and Bischoff, Classen, Gibson, Kelly, Keller, Lewalski, Merkel and Wunder, Nochlin, Orr 2004b, and Rüther.

[3] See Woods and Fürstenwald, Bepler 2007, Ball 2006 and 2010, Bodarwé, Eichberger, Gleixner, Hamburger, Harris, Klüger, Kruse, López-Vidriero, Moore 1987, Signori, and Johns.

in their own writings, has yet to be examined. Questions about what it meant to interact with texts in the early modern period, and how book collectors, particularly women, viewed their libraries, require an exploration of a literary culture very different from the present. In his study of book collectors in Oxford during the period 1550-1650, David Pearson draws attention to this cultural divide when he asks if our modern definition of the term "bibliophile" (or, in his definition, "a person who collects books as physical objects, as aesthetic artifacts, rather than for their textual contents") is applicable to the early modern period.[4] In order to understand the meaning of books for their owners, he writes that we must turn to first-hand accounts: "What we need is contemporary documentation in the form of letters or diaries in which people express opinions about the physical qualities of the books they are buying, and this simply does not exist in meaningful quantity."[5] Sources such as letters, memoirs, inventories, portraits, dedications, bookplates, bindings, and wills are a rich source of information about attitudes and broader information about the place of texts in their owner's lives, information not just about the physical qualities of their books, but about their subjective emotional connection to them. While sources in which individuals describe specific physical qualities of their books in terms that are familiar and recognizable to modern discussions of book collecting may be less common, there is a wide variety of texts available from the early modern period that reveal information about the ways in which textual interaction was perceived and that demonstrate women's textual interactions on multiple levels.

[4] Pearson, 24.

[5] Pearson, 10.

2.1 The Context of the Period: Early Modern Women and the Creation, Dissemination, and Preservation of Texts

This study covers the period 1650 until 1780, from the end of the Thirty Years' War to the beginning of the French Revolution. This period has been chosen because it marks a period of tremendous change in the culture of the book and in book collecting, in libraries and systems of information exchange, not only in Germany but throughout Europe. It also deals with cultural shifts, such as in the political situation in Germany and the personal union between Hanover and Great Britain, which led to new awareness and new understandings of identity constructions.

During the medieval period in Europe, books were both expensive and rare. This situation began to change rapidly during the second half of the fifteenth century, when three factors led to an explosion in the number of books that were available: the switch from parchment to paper; the development of movable-type press and woodblock engraving; and new methods of distribution, particularly the separation between printers and book dealers, that led to a new perception of the book as a widely-available mass market object.[6] This new availability of printed material led to drastic decreases in book prices, in some cases as much as 90% in the span of a few decades.[7] While the book still remained a luxury object, the new existence of the profession of "Buchführer" or "book dealer," the book fairs (and their printed catalogs and advertisements), and the scholarly apparatus, designed to aid the reader, that surrounded the book as a object intended for use (such as the evolution of the title page, indices, pagination, and so forth), meant that texts were both more widely available and more accessible.[8]

[6] Knapse and Till, 235-238.

[7] Knapse and Till, 252.

[8] Knapse and Till, 289-292.

More texts than ever before were available for acquisition, as a consequence of the explosion of Reformation literature and the implementation of humanist educational ideals in the German language. Works such as Martin Opitz' *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey* (1624) and his poetry collection *Teutsche Poemata* (1624), that championed the legitimacy of German as a literary language (and, more importantly, provided both the theory and concrete examples of rhyming structures), encouraged the production of German literature.[9] Literary societies, such as the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft (founded in 1617) and the all-female Tugendliche Gesellschaft (founded in 1619), supported the development and literary use of the German language as a way to promote a national identity.[10] These reforms made more texts available than ever before in a language that made them accessible to all.

The importance of information, and its expanding availability, meant that its influence increased. While book collecting occurred during the Thirty Years' War, particularly as a type of warfare,[11] it was only during the following period of relative peace and stability that book collecting could significantly increase.[12] Printed texts and mass media, and an awareness of their value as propaganda, had reached new prominence following the Reformation.[13] During the Thirty Years' War, they became even more important as a means of waging war. Libraries were also recognized as a means to gain status on a more direct level, particularly in the German-speaking territories. The lack of a strong centralized monarchy meant that there was more power

[9] See Becker-Cantarino and Woods.

[10] See Ball 2010 and the project *"Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft" - Die deutsche Akademie des 17.Jahrhunderts* (http://www.hab.de/forschung/projekte/fruchtbringerei.htm).

[11] See Bepler 2001 and Tauss. Tauss also pays particular attention to the book-plundering activities of Christina of Sweden.

[12] Seefeldt und Syré, 16.

[13] Hobson, 13-14.

centered in the nobility. According to Volker Bauer's typology of German courts, during this period the princely court was the center of political, economic, and cultural life.[14] Less powerful courts could gain recognition and prestige through their artistic and literary productions, framing themselves as a *Musenhof*, or court of the Muses.[15] The court library naturally contributed to this reputation, both in its representative function and as a source of educational materials.

In addition to the rapid expansion in the number of books available, there was also a dramatic increase on the number of books about books. The Reverend Thomas Frognall Dibdin, in his study of book collecting entitled *The Bibliomania or Book-Madness: History, Symptoms, and Cure of This Fatal Disease* (1811), provides an extensive survey of bibliographic works dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of which a significant number, if not the majority, are by German authors or were printed in German-speaking territories.[16]

Many of our constructions of and assumptions about gender roles and identity do not apply to this period; for example, the later distinction between activities suitable to the "private" and "public" spheres, and how those spheres are constructed, came later.[17] The question of education for women during this period (*la Querelle des Femmes*) found expression in many works, including the catalogues of learned German women that appeared in print in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Jean Woods and Maria Fürstenwald list 26 such lexica for

[14] Bauer, 3.

[15] Bauer, 73-77.

[16] Dibdin, "Part II. The Cabinet. Outline of Foreign and Domestic Bibliography," 40-64. Dibdin is often condemned for his idiosyncratic expressions and general absurdity (for example, in his description of one work, *De scriptoribus non-eccleciasticis* [1648-49], by a scholar named Gaddius, Dibdin exclaims "the poor man was crack-brained!" [51]), but his works were extremely influential in the field of nineteenth-century collecting.

[17] Biercamp, 91.

the period 1606-1780.[18] These lists of educated women could be and were consciously used in constructing a national identity. In her study of these *Frauenzimmerlexika*, or encyclopedias of educated women, from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Karin Schmidt-Kohberg notes that in stating their intentions, the creators of these texts give two reasons for writing these works: 1) to encourage parents to educate their daughters properly and to motivate women to educate themselves; and 2) to demonstrate the intellectual superiority of Germany over France, Italy, and Spain.[19] Women, especially women at court, were expected to participate actively in the literary and cultural environment.[20]

The increasing scholarly interest in, and attention to, the role of prominent early modern women who assembled collections, such as Christina of Sweden (1626-1689), Catherine de Medici (1519-1589), and Queen Elizabeth I of England (1533-1603), and their positions in networks of information exchange, calls for a reexamination of constructions of book collectors in the extensive cultural discourse of early modern collecting. Early modern women were by no means excluded from interactions with texts during the early modern period. Literacy among upper-class and noble women was widespread, and in their position in charge of running the household they had at their disposal an increasing array of textual sources such as educational literature, devotional texts, and medicinal-nutritional works.[21] Women in noble families during this period were also encouraged to serve as religious representatives interceding with God on behalf of their territories through prayer and meditation, which necessitated a close relationship

[18] See the essay "'The Learned Female': Catalogues of German Women in Learning, Literature and the Arts from 1606 to the Present" (Woods and Fürstenwald, xii-xxiv.)

[19] Schmidt-Kohberg, 140.

[20] See Wunder, Chapters 3 and 4; Bepler 2002; and Keller.

[21] See Moore 1987.

with devotional literature.[22] Yet women who collected books are frequently portrayed as peripheral figures in the historical record, even when they assembled important collections. Many of the women whose collections and reading habits were studied in the past have been included in critical studies since they were prominent figures, and attention was paid to their book collecting as a result of their position as well known figures.

Prior to this period, early modern and late medieval women were frequently active in text production and dissemination in ways that are only beginning to receive critical attention. In her book *Convent Chronicles: Women Writing about Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages*, Anne Winston-Allen draws attention to an underexamined body of texts--convent chronicles authored by women in the fourteenth through the early sixteenth centuries in Germany and the Low Countries--but in studying these neglected works, Winston-Allen also emphasizes the important aspect of textual preservation that is often ignored in historical analyses. She notes that women were almost entirely responsible for the preservation of vernacular German sermons from the Middle Ages, since they wrote them down and preserved them.[23] In seeking to understand the past, it is important to understand the documents that exist as a record of that past, and to interrogate the nature of those documents and how they survived.

The role of letters as texts in networks of information exchange demonstrates female agency in textual interaction. Many texts that were apparently written for a private audience were understood and expected to reach wider circulation. As Rosemary O'Day points out in her study of early modern English women's letter writing between 1450-1700, letters, although ostensibly privately written for one recipient, could and frequently did function as a type of newsletter, and

[22] Bepler 2002.

[23] Winston-Allen, xi.

thus the distinction between "public and private" spheres does not apply here.[24] One important and generally accepted role for women was in the arrangement of marriages. Letters also reveal a great deal about familial relationships among the wider network of the family, women's roles in running the household, as religious patrons and benefactresses, as those in charge of medical matters and providing medical advice, in supervising education, and their interest in local and national events.[25] Collections of the letters that have been preserved are valuable sources of information. The correspondence of Elisabeth Charlotte, also known as Liselotte von der Pfalz (1652-1722), the sister-in-law of Louis XIV, is the source for much of what is known today about life at the French court.[26] Without this collection, an account of many of the details and events of daily life would not have survived.

Another type of informational text, travel diaries, were written to be shared and preserved. In her study of travel diaries, Jill Bepler has written that family archives and libraries represented an essential source of dynastic continuity.[27] Therefore, travelers writing diaries of their journeys were conscious of the way in which these texts were to be used--as a means to strengthen the sense of dynastic heritage--and were well aware that these texts were not "private" documents. Instead, like "personal prayer books and commonplace books […][,] they were written with an audience in mind, even if that audience was limited to those with access to the

[24] O'Day, 128-129.

[25] O'Day, 134-141. O'Day describes the complex relationships revealed through the evidence of letters, which "demonstrate by their very existence that women were participants in family dialogue […] But the level of participation was not only a gender issue. Women played differing roles within the family, according to their age and civil state, for example" (130).

[26] See Orléans, xv.

[27] Bepler 2005, 191.

family archive."[28] Publication was not a requirement for distribution or access to the text. Female family members were not excluded from textual access to the works.

Women's wills are a sizable source of information. In England, women made 20% of the two million wills, or approximately 400,000, that survive from 1500-1750.[29] This percentage also appears to reflect the situation in German-speaking territories, although the decentralized nature of German-speaking territories before 1870 makes such estimates difficult. In one collection of wills edited and analyzed by Dieter Mack in his five-volume work (*Testamente der Stadt Braunschweig,* encompassing 1314-1432), approximately 24% were made by middle-class women. Mack also lists several cases in which books, or money for books, were explicitly deeded to women, such as a will dated June 1, 1413, in which Ludeke von Engelemstede left 2 Marks to his daughter Ghese (one of many children) for "clothes and books."[30] These wills provide useful insight into the situation of middle-class women. Studies of book collecting in the early modern era tend to focus on nobility and important historical figures, writers and scholars, since information about them and about their collections tended to be more likely to be preserved and thus available to later scholars. Wills are one category of sources that provide a clear record of official property records and offer potential sources of information about understudied groups.

In some cases, such as in the will of Samuel Pepys, who donated his book collection to Cambridge University but stipulated that it must remain intact and unchanging in perpetuity, wills reflect the desire to preserve a set of objects in their context: a permanent collection as

[28] Bepler 2005, 191-192.

[29] "Women's Wills," 203-218 and 205.

[30] Mack, vol. 4, lists the will of Ludeke 3 von Engelemstede (dated 1.6.1413), who left "2 Mark für Kleidung und Bücher" to his daughter Ghese, one of his many children (54).

organized by its owner.[31] Wills also raise questions about the perceived purpose of a collection as well as the intended readership.

Noble wills are especially rich documents, since they often functioned as a type of *Fürstenspiegel*, or mirrors for princes, transmitting important information about ruling and proper codes of behavior. In her exploration of early modern wills written by German nobles, Susan Richter lists multiple reasons that nobles would make a will.[32] A will is made necessary by tradition and by the immediate administrative concerns that necessitate a will, such as the desire to prevent generational or familial conflict, to secure the dynastic succession, to protect rights, and by the responsibility to do so as the head of the family and ruler. Wills also transmit important information to future rulers by reflecting on the past, as a means of communicating experience to the heir or heirs and successors, and hopefully thereby ensuring good leadership in the future. Wills can reflect personal ambitions and anxieties such as the fear of death and the fear of unpreparedness. They function as a continuing memorial by "guaranteeing a continuity of presence of the dead" and as testimonials.[33] These documents thus contain a great deal of source material about "legal, social, institutional, family/gender and linguistic history, along with information about relationships, about perspectives of property, memory, death, religion as well as institutions such as church and family."[34] Noble women and men both made wills that provide

[31] Pepys ensured the preservation of his collection by willing it to Magdalene College with the provision that if Magdalene failed to follow his stipulations, his collection would go to Trinity College, Magdalene's rival (Basbanes, 99-100).

[32] Richter, 227-228.

[33] Richter, 227 and 418.

[34] Richter, 34. "Festzuhalten ist, dass sich die interdisziplinäre Forschung mit ihrem historischen, rechtsgeschichtlichen, literatur- und kulturgeschichtlichen sowie biowissenschaftlichen Perspektiven im Wesentlichen auf bürgerliche Testamente konzentrierte. Untersuchungen zu rechts-, sozial-, institutionen-, familien-/geschlechter- und sprachhistorischen Fragen oder Auskünfte über verwandtschaftliche und außerverwandtschaftliche Beziehungenssysteme, über Mentalitäten in Bezug auf Eigentum, Erinnerung, Tod,

information about the ways in which they viewed the world and their relationships with both people and property.

The *Leichenpredigt*, or the genre of printed funeral sermon that often included a resume of the life of the deceased, poems, portraits, funeral music, and other ephemera, is another type of document that provides a rich source of information. This genre of memorial text was a wide-spread tradition among the middle and upper classes beginning in the Reformation until approximately the mid-eighteenth century and served many different purposes, including as comfort for the bereaved and as a way to display the social status of the entire family.[35] In the *Leichenpredigt* collection of Sophie Eleonore, Countess of Stolberg-Stolberg (1669-1745), who began collecting at the beginning of the eighteenth century and assembled over 40,000 *Leichenpredigte* when she died in 1745, a more complex portrait of early modern life emerges. Sophie Eleonore's collecting activities were influenced by her mother, Luise Christine of Hessen-Darmstadt, married von Stolberg (1636-1697), who brought *Leichenpredigte* with her from the court of her birth in Darmstadt, and her grandmother, Sophie Eleonore of Sachsen, married of Hessen-Darmstadt (1609-1671), who wrote and commissioned *Leichenpredigte*.[36] Sophie Eleonore assembled her collection through extensive correspondence; before her death she added it to her nephew's library.[37] In addition to extensive genealogical information, these works, which seek to provide a moral example for the living as well as to immortalize the dead,

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Religion oder Konfession sowie auf Institutionen wie Kirche und Familie fehlen für urkundengebundene fürstliche Testamente der Frühen Neuzeit völlig."

[35] Bepler and Moore, 175-176.

[36] Bepler and Moore, 176-177.

[37] Bepler and Moore, 178. The collection in Stolberg was reduced to 23,500 in 1870, and in 1975 it was placed in the collections of the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, where the collection was enlarged with 14,000 Leichenpredigte from the Wolfenbüttel holdings and now numbers 37,500 items (178).

preserve for the modern reader a context of literary culture for both men and women. As Jill Bepler writes, "[t]he Leichenpredigt is also a genre in which the early modern woman emerges on an equal footing with her male counterparts, for the funeral sermon knows no gender predominance. It therefore allows a reconstruction of patterns of female aristocratic mobility which echoes the educational patterns of their male siblings--education away from home, at court or in the families of relatives, and, from the end of the seventeenth century, at fashionable female academies in France and the Netherlands."[38] The Stolberg-Stolberg collection also reveals information about the way in which collecting could be perceived according to social class, rather than gender. As Bepler and Moore note during a description of a conflict that arose from a critical evaluation in 1720 of the collection, written by Christian Stieff (1675-1751), a poet and scholar in Breslau, the difference in purpose and perception between a scholar and a noble collector would affect the system of organization and the way in which the collection itself would be used.[39] The scholar, who here is not as concerned with the long-term survival of the collection as opposed to the short-term function, has very different goals than the noble collector who is concerned with the broader context of a dynastic resource. The Stolberg-Stolberg collection of these ephemeral documents survived because its collector was interested in these documents and preserved them for later generations in a collection she assembled.

[38] Bepler 2005, 199.

[39] Bepler and Moore, 179: "In seiner Erwiderung auf die Vorschläge Stieffs verweist Zeitfuchs, der Mitarbeiter der Gräfin, auf den Unterschied zwischen der Sammeltätigkeit bürgerlicher Gelehrter einerseits, die zu jeweils unterschiedlichen wissenschaftlichen Zwecken ihre Materialien ordnen, und der von 'hohen Standes-Personen' wie der Gräfin andererseits, die 'für sich und nach ihrem Gefallen was sammeln und auffheben'. Hier tritt ein deutlicher Unterschied zwischen den sich etablierenden professionellen Historikern und Genealogen, verkörpert durch den Brotautor Stieff, und der sich mit dem Material identifizierenden, an der Wahrung der Memoria arbeitenden Fürstin und Gräfin zutage, der es nie in den Sinn kam, die als Gesamtkunstwerk konzipierten Gedenkwerke früherer Generationen auseinanderzureißen, nur um sich schneller und besser informieren zu können. Ihre Ordnungsprinzipien beruhten auf einer hierarchisch gegliederten, ständisch fein differenzierten Sicht, die auch der eigenen dynastischen Verortung diente."

Another useful source of information about noblewomen's book collecting activities is offered by the inventories and catalogs to their collections. Certain events, such as marriage or death, required the creation of an inventory in order to clarify property rights.[40] In situations such as marital or familial conflicts, inventories could be made as a way to investigate possible negative influences or to list confiscated books.[41] Other types of inventories might mark acquisitions, donations, or simply exist as a periodic review of the contents of the collection. Library catalogs, in contrast, are intended as aids to using the collection and differ from inventories in their structure. Inventories are based either on the economic value of the works listed or the physical location in which they are organized, while catalogs could be organized in many ways: alphabetically by author, by title, by subject, by date of acquisition, by language, by format.[42] Inventories were created in response to situations in their owner's lives that made it necessary to quantify their property.

Another means of quantifying property is through the use of identifying marks such as bookplates or uniform bindings. The function of a bookplate is to mark ownership, and to mark an individual work as belonging to a larger collection. The use of bookplates by both women and men appears almost as early as the advent of printing. As Norna Labouchère describes in *Ladies' Book Plates: An Illustrated Handbook for Collectors and Book-Lovers* (1896), women were involved in the creation and use of bookplates from early on. She cites the earliest dated ex libris in England for a woman as that of Elizabeth Pindar in 1608, with the motto "God's providence is mine inheritance."[43] In German-speaking territories, women's bookplates appear even earlier.

[40] Bepler 2010, 204.

[41] Bepler 2010, 209.

[42] Bepler 2010, 204-205.

[43] Labouchère, 15 and 24.

The earliest woman's bookplate was for "Radigunde Eggenberger von Fressen, widow of the Junker Gossenbrott von Hochenfrieberg [who] presented certain volumes to a Carthusian monastery at Buckshaim, near Meiningen" at the end of the fifteenth century.[44] Another plate dates from 1588 and belonged to Christinana Aschenbrenner née Musculus.[45] These representations show that ownership of libraries was recognized as an appropriate social role for men and women.

These examples demonstrate the active role early modern women actively played in all aspects of the production, exchange, and preservation of texts. Collecting, as a way of interacting with texts, is additionally important since it is an activity that affects the survival of texts and of information. That which is collected is considered to have value, to be worthy of collection and of preservation, and if an individual is labeled a book collector, that affects the value of the collection as a whole. A book collector is assumed to have assembled a collection, with all that that entails; a book owner merely owns books. Dissolving a book collection represents the dissolution of an entity, an organized resource, and a cohesive whole; dissolving a number of indiscriminately assembled, discontinuous works is another matter entirely. Thus it is important to examine the ways in which individuals are labeled book collectors and why, or if they are considered to be book owners, because this identification can play a role in determining which sources survive.

In examining women who collected in the early modern period, and in the recognition of them as book collectors, one of the most important and fundamental factors is the existence of a collection. Whether it has survived until the present day, the existence of a collection is the first

[44] Labouchère, 206.

[45] Labouchère, 206.

criteria for determining who can be called a collector. While, theoretically, the proven existence of a collection is not always a determining factor in studies of collectors and collecting and it is not universally cited as a defining feature in the critical literature, in practice it is difficult, if not impossible, to argue that someone who is not known to have owned any books can be considered a book collector. The size of the collection is also an important consideration. Three books technically constitute a "collection" but it would be difficult to argue that they can be used to indicate any personal identity or self-representation.[46] Collections by well-known figures such as those of August the Younger of Braunschweig-Lüneburg at Wolfenbüttel, whose collection numbered 135,000 titles in 35,000 volumes at the time of his death in 1666, are remarkable based on their size alone. August's collection is an ideal example of a collection since there is so much information about his motivations, his collecting techniques and preferences, his book agents, and every aspect of his book collecting.[47] However, the sheer size of his collection has also ensured that it remained an object of study. In the case of collectors who assembled smaller collections, there remains the question of how many books are necessary to form a true collection, and what other criteria are being used to distinguish between a book collector and an individual who owns books. In analyses of other collectors, the criteria often remain loosely defined. Since self-identification as a book collector is frequently used as a determining factor in these decisions, and since it is intrinsically related to the evaluation of collecting styles as systematic and methodologically unified, examining the writings of early modern German women who interacted and collected texts will allow for an exploration of the ways in which book collecting is constructed in different contexts.

[46] Sommer argues that three is the minimum number of items that can constitute a collection in order for it to have a narrative (76-77).

[47] See Schmidt-Glintzer and *Sammler, Fürst, Gelehrter*.

In selecting women in German-speaking areas to study, it was necessary to apply certain criteria. These women must have owned a collection. There must be information about this collection available, whether or not the actual collection itself survived. They must have demonstrated an interest in their collections and actively participated in the act of collecting books and other texts. These women must have demonstrated an awareness of the importance of their collections for other people, as evidenced by the attempt to provide for the collection's continued existence or directions for its dispersal after her death. The act of building a collection and directing the disposal of her property demonstrates that a woman viewed the collection as her personal property, which she was entitled to dispose of, and that this claim was recognized by those around her (although there could be challenges to the will and this does not necessarily mean that all of her directions would be carried out). In addition, the women selected for this study must have demonstrated awareness of the ways in which they were represented and in which they represented themselves, as shown by their own writings. For this purpose, it was necessary to find women who had left documentation about themselves and their roles as collectors. These women also needed to have been considered important or remarkable enough, both by their contemporaries and by later writers, to have ensured that information about them was preserved for posterity.

The focus of this chapter is to investigate the place of books and written texts in the lives of two active collectors, and to investigate models of the representation of a collector of written records. If the motivation for collecting is considered the most definitive factor in assigning the identity of the book collector to a particular individual, and if the way to explore and understand that motivation is to examine that individual's own representations of the act of book collecting and textual interaction, then the clues to these motivations found in these texts can be used to

demonstrate how these women fit into the larger context of early modern German textual collecting as well as into the context of the tradition of book collecting. By examining their own texts and contemporary documents, which represent a broad spectrum of texts written for different purposes, and by creating emic models of the activity of book collecting, which are based on the data from inside the context under study, to compare with the etic models, or constructions based on data from outside the context under discussion, as explored in the previous chapter, we can investigate their own perspectives and representations in order to understand whether the depictions of the book collector as an identity that are found in the literature dealing with book collecting also appear in their representations or whether this understanding differs.

By analyzing how two early modern German women, Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie of Sachsen-Meiningen (1681-1766) and Elisabeth Sophie Marie of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1683-1767) wrote about their book collections, this chapter demonstrates how they constructed and defined their own image of the collection and the collector.[48] Both women were linked to the dynasty of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel-Lüneburg, with its tradition of male and female collectors.[49] Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1528-1589) founded the court library in 1572, and in his collection were rarities such as the first printed book in French with woodcut illustrations, Jean d'Arras' *Le livre de Melusine* (Geneva, 1478), and the first printed book in German with woodcut illustrations, Ulrich Boner's *Edelstein* (Bamberg, 1461).[50] The library is named for Duke August the Younger of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1579-1666), who was one

[48] For the purpose of this dissertation, I have chosen to use the name and court affiliation by which these women were most commonly known.

[49] See, for example, Bepler 1998; Moore 2010; *Sammler, Fürst, Gelehrter;* and Schmidt-Glintzer.

[50] Schmidt-Glintzer, 10.

of the greatest collectors of the early modern period; he assembled an extensive library, now called the Herzog August Bibliothek in his honor, which was one of the largest in the world at the time of his death.[51] Subsequent members of the dynasty added to and maintained the collection, establishing the library in Wolfenbüttel as an important resource for early modern scholarship and supporting the role of the Wolfenbüttel court as a *Musenhof*. Notable women associated with this dynasty and this court who owned collections include Elisabeth Juliane of Holstein-Norburg, married of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1634-1704), who donated her collection of over 800 devotional works to a convent she founded;[52] Christine Luise of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, married of Oettingen (1671-1747), who assembled a collection of political works; Antoinette Amalie von Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1696-1762), who at the time of her death owned a collection of 1313 printed volumes and 28 manuscripts;[53] Philippine Charlotte of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1716-1801), whose collection consisted of over 4,000 works of literature, most of which were in French;[54] and Anna Amalia of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, by marriage the duchess of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach (1739-1807), whose interests in literature and the arts, and her active support of collecting, are reflected in the existence of the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek in Weimar.[55] As members of this dynasty, the collecting activities of Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie and Elisabeth Sophie Marie reflect this tradition.

[51] Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg was a book collector who also donated part of his collection to the University of Helmstedt, which he founded; his collection was later returned to the Herzog August Bibliothek. August significantly expanded the family collection and was deeply involved in acquiring, organizing, and providing access to the works he collected; see Schmidt-Glintzer and *Sammler, Fürst, Gelehrter*.

[52] Moore 2010.

[53] Fabian, vol. 2b, 212.

[54] Fabian, vol. 2b, 211-12.

[55] Fabian, vol. 21, 104.

Both women assembled significant collections intended to serve a particular function for a specific population, and both collections were preserved and are today important resources for scholars. Elisabeth Sophie Marie of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, wife and later widow of August Wilhelm of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, owned a large and multi-lingual Bible collection, commissioned an inventory, and represented herself as its patron and owner.[56] Elisabeth Sophie Marie's Bible collection has remained at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel since she had it brought there before her death. The documents about her life, such as the religious texts she wrote and sponsored, a coin struck upon her return to the court of her marriage thirty years after her husband's death, and an inventory of her Bible collection, demonstrate her perceptions of her own collecting activities and their functions. The continued existence of her Bible collection demonstrates its own importance in addition to her valuable role as its founder.

Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie of Sachsen-Meiningen clearly demonstrated an interest in collecting books as part of her duties as the abbess at Gandersheim abbey from 1713-1767. She has been represented as one of the most prominent abbesses who oversaw the last golden age of the abbey at Gandersheim. She viewed this activity as part of her responsibilities, had the resources to expand the collection, and cared about the future evolution of the collection. Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie issued an edict in 1721 re-founding the neglected abbey library; documents such as the handwritten dedications in the books donated to this library and a memorial poem to her *Oberhofmeister* upon his death demonstrate that she played the central role in its establishment and existence. The continued existence of this collection, in which the

[56] See Knoch.

uniform bindings no doubt played a role, reflects Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie's devotion to ensuring that the volumes she collected formed a cohesive whole.

These women valued their book collections and viewed them as essential to their own lives and the duties and responsibilities that were associated with their positions. They depict and describe their own interactions with texts, and the interactions of those around them in their social context, as not only appropriate but necessary for the proper fulfillment of the duties expected of them. While it is difficult to definitively state that these women would have identified themselves with the identity of a book collector--which, as we have seen, is an identity and a role that are by no means stable, even in the modern era--since their collecting activities were associated with the duties that belonged to their positions, their actions and their own representations mark their activities as collectors. They deliberately assembled and owned collections, they demonstrated a clear sense of ownership of those materials, they made provisions for the continued existence of their collections as collections, and these collections were important in their lives.

2.2 Elisabeth Sophie Marie of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1683-1767)

Elisabeth Sophie Marie von Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Wolfenbüttel was the daughter of Rudolf Friedrich, Duke of Holstein-Norburg (1645-1688) and Bibiana, who was born Countess of Promnitz (1649-1685). Since her parents both died when she was still very young, Elisabeth Sophie Marie was placed into the care of her paternal aunt Elisabeth Juliane (1634-1704) and her husband Anton Ulrich (1633-1714) at the court in Wolfenbüttel. Her first husband was Adolf August, Herzog von Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Plön (1680-1704), with whom she had one son, Leopold August (1702-1706). After her husband's death, Elisabeth Sophie Marie took over as regent for her young son until his death in 1706, after which she retired to her widow's residence in Ahrensboek. Elisabeth Sophie Marie married Anton Ulrich and Elisabeth Juliane's son (and her own godfather) August Wilhelm (1662-1731) in 1711. The marriage was her second and his third, and there were no children.[57] August Wilhelm succeeded to the duchy in 1714 upon Anton Ulrich's death. After August Wilhelm's death in 1731, his brother Ludwig Rudolf succeeded him. Elisabeth Sophie Marie, who was forty-eight years old when she became a widow for the second time, spent the next thirty-six years of her life engaging in cultural activities that coincided with her role as a former *Landesmutter* and demonstrated her connections to the court in Wolfenbüttel.

Wolfenbüttel was a very literary and cultured court. Many of the women at this court collected books or owned private book collections. Elisabeth Juliane, Elisabeth Sophie Marie's mother-in-law as well as her paternal aunt, was a book collector in her own right.[58] Elisabeth Sophie Marie, like Elisabeth Juliane, assembled a collection that was distinctly separate from the

[57] August Wilhelm's first wife was his cousin Christine Sophie of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1654-1695), whom he married in 1681. After her death, he married Sophie Amalie of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf (1670-1710) in 1695.

[58] Moore 2010.

court library: at the time of her death, her Bible collection consisted of over 1200 volumes, with Bibles representing a wide variety of languages, religious affiliations, and time periods. She began collecting in 1743 at auctions in Ulm, the Haag, Berlin, Hamburg, Celle, Hanover, Braunschweig, and Leipzig, and she acquired collections and parts of collections from scholars such as Johann Georg Palm (Hamburg), and Johann Heinrich Schmid (Hanover). Other works she purchased or received as gifts.[59] In a period of approximately twenty-one years, Elisabeth Sophie Marie assembled a major collection of Bibles and Bible-related literature, including works by Luther, Agricola, Sebastian Münster, Johann Arndt, Johann Philipp Abelin, and Philip Melanchthon, and other theological writings.[60] At least four of the works in her collection came from the collection of Conrad Zacharias von Uffenbach (1683-1734), who was a noted book collector.[61] In 1764, three years before her death, Elisabeth Sophie Marie had her Bible collection of over 1200 works brought to Wolfenbüttel.[62] After her death, an additional 3710 volumes and around 30 manuscripts from her collection were added to the library in Wolfenbüttel.[63] The bulk of her collection remains at the Herzog August Bibliothek, where it provides a valuable resource for scholarship.

[59] Reinitzer, 314.

[60] Reinitzer, 314.

[61] These works are listed in Reinitzer, 123, 124, and 128. Other sources were the collections of Kaspar Heinrich Starck (Reinitzer, 132), Johann Albert Fabricius (Reinitzer, 141), and the collection of Johann Georg Palm (Reinitzer, 312),

[62] See Heitzmann, 15-16.

[63] See the information about the collection available at "Fürstenbibliotheken des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts" (http://www.hab.de/bibliothek/sammlungen/bestaende/fuerstenbib.htm) and "Bibelsammlung" (http://www.hab.de/bibliothek/sammlungen/bestaende/mss/bibeln.htm) at the Herzog August Bibliothek website.

Heimo Reinitzer describes her collecting as motivated by the desire to demonstrate her love for the Bible.[64] Reinitzer locates the desire to collect Bibles at a crossroads of uncertainty:

> The common circulation of the Bible through inexpensive editions and the preparation of biblical glosses for critical readers placed the position of the Bible as a book for the home and as a piece of the best German literature in danger. Whoever fears decay, preserves; whoever fears loss, collects. The Bible collections of the 18th century are first and foremost indicators of deep uncertainty concerning the Bible as book and as the word of God--a confusion about the text of the Bible as well. The Bible collections gave the name of the "biblical century" to the 18th century.[65]

This paradoxical situation Reinitzer describes, in which the individual book collector reacts to the increasingly available text of the Bible by perceiving it as endangered, and thus collecting it, highlights the separation between the Bible as object and the perception of the Bible as a holy object. The sacred nature of the Bible is threatened, perhaps even replaced, by the Bible's new role as a freely available commodity that can be printed, purchased, and read by whoever wishes to do so. Bible collections provide a valuable tool for textual comparison between "true" and "false" editions of the Holy Scriptures by making them available to scholars. Reinitzer mentions other Bible collections, such as that of Josias Lorck (1723-1785) and the Hamburg *Hauptpastor* Johann Melchior Goeze (1717-1786), and the Nuremberg pastor Georg

[64] Reinitzer, 314.

[65] Reinitzer, 306: "Die allgemeine Verbreitung der Bibel durch billige Ausgaben und die Zubereitung des biblischen Wortlautes für kritische Leser brachte die Bibel als Hausbuch und als Stück bester deutscher Literatur in Gefahr. Wer Verfall fürchtet, konserviert, wer dem Verlust begegnet, sammelt. Die Bibelsammlungen des 18. Jahrhunderts sind zuerst und vor allem Zeichen tiefer Unsicherheit gegenüber der Bibel als Buch und Wort Gottes, einer Verunsicherung auch dem Wortlaut der Bibel gegenüber. Die Bibelsammlungen haben dem 18. Jahrhundert aber auch den Namen des 'biblischen Jahrhunderts' eingetragen."

Wolfgang Panzer (1729-1803), whose collection ended up in the collection of Karl Eugen in Württemberg.[66]

Religious affiliation played a major role in Elisabeth Sophie Marie's literary production as well as her collecting. August Wilhelm's father Anton Ulrich had allegedly converted to Catholicism in 1709 as a way to further his plans for the expansion of his territory.[67] In order to emphasize his commitment to Protestantism, August Wilhelm took a number of steps, including ordering all preachers in his lands to follow the Augsburg Confession. In her position as *Landesmutter* or mother of her territory, und as the head of devotional activities, Elisabeth Sophie Marie's duties would have included supporting the Lutheran cause.[68] Elisabeth Sophie Marie was indeed active in activities that supported the religious life of those under her spiritual and temporal supervision. In his printed sermon commemorating the entrance of several women into the cloister at Marienberg, *Die Closter-Regeln für die ins Closter sich begebenen Conventualinnen Imgleichen Ob eine Jungfrau mit guten Gewissen sich können ins Closter begeben* (1725), the pastor Johann Friedrich Heine dedicates the work to Elisabeth Sophie Marie, who has supported the cloister. In the printed version of a sermon that was held on February 13, 1726, which Heine notes was commissioned by August Wilhelm for this specific occasion, he thematizes the close ties between the cloister and the ruling pair, not merely the ruling duke.[69] As Heide Wunder's examination of early modern German gender roles makes clear, the gender-specific division of labor, and the construction of female spheres of activity as house-internal do

[66] Reinitzer, 306.

[67] Anton Ulrich converted to Catholicism in 1709 at the age of 77; see Spehr.

[68] See Bepler 2002.

[69] Heine, 3: "Daß aber selbige [the sermon] hiemit zu Dero Füssen demüthigst niederlege wollen Ew. Hertzogl. Durchl. zu Gnaden halten/ indem mich dazu veranlasset die Pflicht/ womit Ew. Hertz. Durchl. dis Closter vor andern Clöstern in dem Lande unterthänigst verbunden ist."

not apply to this period. [70] Elisabeth Sophie Marie and August Wilhelm are a ruling pair, and one of Elisabeth Sophie Marie's duties is to support the devotional activities in her territory. She is following a long and well-established tradition: Heine emphasizes the importance of the connection between the territorial rulers and the cloister from its foundation to the present, especially in his mention of an important female benefactress. The cloister benefitted greatly from Mechthild, the wife of Henry the Lion, who presented it with valuable gifts on her deathbed.[71] He follows with a list of other princely sponsors and gifts.[72] The nobility are expected to provide their support and guidance.

Accordingly, in 1714 Elisabeth Sophie Marie published a work that was intended to serve as a guide for those in her territory: *Kurtzer Auszug / Etlicher / zwischen den Catholiken und Lutheranern / streitigen / Glaubens=Lehren / Aus des / Concilii zu Trient und der Göttl. / Schrift eigenen Worten / Wie auch / Dem hieben gefügten / Päbstl. Glaubens=Bekändtniß / Und Religions-Ende / Treulich gefasset / Und zum nöthigen Unterricht / Was / Jeder Theil glaubt und glauben soll / Ans Licht gestellet.* This work was reprinted in 1720 and 1747. It delineates its purpose in the title: it is a pedagogic text that presents "what each side believes and should believe" as "necessary instruction" ("zum nöthigen Unterricht / Was / Jeder Theil glaubt und glauben soll"). In *Kurtzer Auszug,* Elisabeth Sophie Marie declares her position by first reprinting the accusations made by the Council of Trent against Lutheran teachings and then refuting them in detail using numerous Biblical verses and other sources as evidence. One significant difference between the two teachings as presented here is the relationship with the

[70] Wunder, 66-69.

[71] Heine, 3: "Das Closter Marienberg ist wegen seines Gebeths vor die hiesige Herrschaft am meisten berühmt und fast deswegen gestifftet. Als Herzogs Heinrichs des Löwen Gemahlinn Mechthild versterben wolte/ verehrete sie dem Closter 50. Marck Silbers/ und eine Sammitee Tafel/ um vor ihre Seele zu bitten."

[72] Heine, 3-4.

Bible: Catholic teaching warns of the dangers of reading the Bible in one's mother language without guidance, and holy absolution is denied those who read it without written permission or the permission from a religious superior.[73] In contrast, Elisabeth Sophie Marie cites the Lutheran teachings which emphasize three points: "I. God commanded us to read the Holy Scriptures. II. We hope to benefit by fulfilling this command. III. In neglecting this command, damage is to be feared."[74] Elisabeth Sophie Marie's responsibility for the spiritual wellbeing of the people in her territory gives her the authority to interpret Catholic and Lutheran dogma and to distribute her interpretation in printed form. She published an additional work in 1750 that continued to interpret the conflict between Protestant and Catholic teachings, *Eine deutlichere Erläuterung der Glauben-Lehren, so in den zwölf Briefen des Jesuiten Seedorffs enthalten, nach dem Glaubens-Bekänntniß, welches die Protestanten in Ungarn, bey ihrem Uebertritt zur Röm. Kirche schweren müssen*. Both of these works are extant in multiple copies, suggesting that they were printed in ample numbers and were preserved.[75]

The numerous works that are dedicated to Elisabeth Sophie Marie demonstrate her passion for books and learning and the value she placed on knowledge. Elisabeth Sophie Marie sponsored works that also addressed this question of religious conflict, including Johann Rempen's *Gründliche Beantwortung einer ehemals herausgekommenen röm. cathol. Schrift genannt: Wahre Abbildung des neuen lutherischen Evangelii./ Entgegen gesetzet von Johann*

[73] Braunschweig-Lüneburg, *Kurtzer Auszug*, 1.

[74] Braunschweig-Lüneburg, *Kurtzer Auszug*, 4: "I. Die heilige Schrift ist von GOtt uns zu lesen befohlen. II. Bey Erfüllung dieses Befehls haben wir Nutzen zu hoffen. III. Bey Unterlassung dieses Befehls Schaden zu befürchten."

[75] For example, the catalog of the Gemeinsame Bibliotheksverbund, which is a consortium of German academic research libraries and institutions, lists copies of *Kurtzer Auszug* at libraries in Braunschweig, Halle, Jena, Wolfenbüttel, Greifswald, and Schwerin; *Eine deutlichere Erläuterung* is in Greifswald, Wolfenbüttel, and Aurich/Emden (*GVK*, http://gso.gbv.de/DB=2.1/).

Rempen. Nunmehro zum Dr. befördert von e. Liebhaberin d. evangelischen Wahrheit (1755).[76] In this text, Rempen uses the same technique of first printing the anti-Lutheran accusations and then devoting the majority of his work to refuting them. He includes forty claims about Lutheran beliefs and he is particularly inspired by several anti-Lutheran claims about textual interaction. The Lutherans are accused of fabricating and introducing mistakes into the word of God: the fourteenth accusation states that their Bible has lost its status as the word of God through false interpretation ("Eine Bibel ohne GOttes Wort, dann sie durch falsche Auslegung nur Menschen-Wort wird"); the fifteenth claims that the Lutherans interpret the holy Scriptures willfully and thus deprive them of sense ("Heilige Schrift ohne rechten Verstand, dann sie legens aus nach Gefallen"); and number thirty-nine accuses Lutherans of denial, slander, and lies since they attempt to prove their point in books and sermons ("Läugnen, Lästern und Lügen, dann sie weisen es in Büchern und Predigen.")[77] Rempen's rebuttal of these accusations focuses on the pope, who he claims has usurped the role of textual interpreter. He accuses the Catholics of having a Bible without God's word because the pope is more important than the word of the Bible (36-37), and the Catholic Bible has no authority since the Pope is interpreting it according to his own wishes (37-38). As for the accusation that Lutherans commit slander, denial, and lies through their texts, Rempen points to the numerous Catholic slanders of Luther (91-92), and he specifically mentions the original anti-Lutheran accusations that he is reprinting as evidence that the Catholics make a virtue of slander and fabrication.[78] The central position of texts demonstrates how vital they were as evidence and as weapons in this conflict. For Rempen, the

[76] There is a penciled note in the HAB copy that identifies Elisabeth Sophie Marie as the "Liebhaberin d[er] evangelischen Wahrheit" ("lover of the evangelical truth") who sponsored the work.

[77] Rempen, 4-5.

[78] Rempen claims that the Catholic church pews would be empty if they did not lure their audience with stories and myths such as "a fable from the history books of saints" ("eine Fabel aus den Geschicht-Büchern der Heiligen").

authenticity of the Bible in its Catholic and Lutheran versions is definitive in answering these accusations.

Elisabeth Sophie Marie's interest in representations of her activities can be seen on a medallion for her birthday in 1738. This medallion carries the inscriptions REGIO CREDE MIHI RES EST SUCCURRERE LAPIS, a passage from Ovid which translates as "It is a regal act, believe me, to succor the fallen,"[79] and the phrase "WER RETTET WAS VERDIRBT / DEN HOCHSTEN RUHM / ERWIRBT" (Whoever saves that which decays, shall earn the highest praise).[80] Although this medallion was struck before she began collecting Bibles on a large scale, it indicates her interest in preservation as a means of immortality and connects it to the appropriate duties of a ruler. Previous medallions featured her portrait or a depiction of a "Beinhaus" (ossuary) and shorter inscriptions. In 1760, on the occasion of a visit to Wolfenbüttel, Elisabeth Sophie Marie commissioned a coin that emphasized her enduring ties to its court. The text of this coin particularly emphasizes her ties to her paternal aunt Elisabeth Juliane, who raised her after her parents' death, and who was responsible for directing her on the correct path in life: "GOTT ENTRIS MI= ICH DURCH SIE / DER GEFAHR, IN IRRIGE LEH / RE ZU GERATH=EN, UND SIE / ERZOG MICH IN DER ALLEIN / SEELIGMACHEN [---] DER RELIGION" (Through her, God preserved me from the danger of falling into false teaching, and she raised me in the one true [illegible] of religion).[81] The extensive text of this medallion, twenty-four lines in total, appears to be unusual; it is by far the longest inscription listed in Eduard Fiala's sixth volume of his reference work on medallions. Since Elisabeth

[79] Stone, 104.

[80] Fiala, 246.

[81] Reinitzer, 314, has a reproduction of this medaillon. I have used Fiala's transcription of the inscriptions on both sides (246-247).

Juliane had been portrayed in several medallions, including one commemorating her foundation of the cloister, these medallions place Elisabeth Sophie Marie in the tradition of learned women of the house of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel.

In 1752, Elisabeth Sophie Marie commissioned a printed catalog of her Bible collection (Figure 2). Georg Ludolf Otto Knoch (1705-1785), the court pastor in Braunschweig, was responsible for creating this catalog.[82] The title page of this catalog clearly states the purpose for assembling this collection. Elisabeth Sophie Marie has begun this collection "ZVM BEWEISE DER AVSBREITVNG VND VERHERRLICHVNG DES NAHMENS GOTTES IN MANCHERLEY SPRACHEN, ABSONDERLICH DER TEVTSCHEN DVRCH D. MART. LVTHERN, GESAMMLET VND IN DERO BVECHER-SCHATZ AVF DEM GRAVEN HOFE, DER CHRISTLICHEN KIRCHE ZVM BESTEN AVFGESTELLT HAT" ("as proof of the promulgation and honoring of the name of God in multiple languages, in particular the German language via Dr. Martin Luther, collected and displayed in this book-treasure at the ducal court, for the benefit of the Christian church"). Here she explicitly states her motivation for collecting these works. She seeks to honor God, to commemorate Martin Luther, and to support the Christian church. The contents of this catalog demonstrate that this was a collection of rarities. Elisabeth Sophie Marie commissioned a printed catalog of her collection that demonstrated its full breadth and depth, indicating that she viewed her collection as an important scholarly resource. As evidence for her own conception of her role as a promoter of scholarship and patron of knowledge, there is a depiction of Elisabeth Sophie Marie in this catalog that locates her portrait, next to a portrait of Martin Luther, in a small oval over her library, depicted

[82] According to the *Neues Elegantestes Conversations-Lexikon für alle aus allen Ständen* (1835), Knoch was the Hofprediger or court preacher in Braunschweig and his role in writing about the "Braunschweig" Bible collection is also noted, but Elisabeth Sophie Marie is not mentioned (392).

as a large room filled with shelves of books, populated by six masculine figures engaged in reading, searching for books, or posing before the shelves (see Figure 2a and b).[83] The proximity of Elisabeth Sophie Marie to the portrait of Luther demonstrates a devotional connection, and her position overseeing the collection emphasizes her connection to it.

The Bible collection is clearly designed to function as a scholarly resource. The earliest Bible listed is a Latin Bible from 1348, and the latest is a polyglot Bible from 1751. At the time the catalog was printed, the collection contained a total of 987 works. In the table of contents, these works are organized primarily into linguistic and geographic groups, with certain categories, such as German Bibles, further divided into religious affiliation, time period, or by translation. The categories are the following: Biblia polyglotta (with 43 items); Hebraica (19); Græca (14); Chald. et Judæo-Germ. (6); Nov. Test. Græc. et Græco-Lat. (42); Variæ Vers. Orientales, which later on the catalog is divided into the subcategories Hebraicæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, Turcicæ, Æthiopicæ, Armenicæ, Malaicæ, and Malabaricæ s. Damulicæ (33); Biblia Latina MSC. (9); Latina Impressa. (180); Appendix I., which consists of miscellaneous works (10); Biblia Francica, Anglo-Saxonica etc. Germanica, which is divided into the following subcategories: Vor der Reformation (26), Aus. D. Luthers Uebersetzung (294), Neue Catholische Uebersetzungen (16), Reformirte (40), Socinianische (5), Der Wiedertäufer (12), Der Schwärmer (22), and Neuer Lutheraner (21); Biblia Hollandica (34); Portugallica (5); Hispanica (8); Gallica. (68); Italica. (13); Rhætica. (1); Anglica et Hibernica (12); Sclavonica (1); Bohemica et Venedica. (12); Hungarica (2); Polonica et Lithuanica (5); Lettica. (1); Moscowitica (6); Danica

[83] The portrait is a copperplate by the Braunschweig court engraver Johann Georg Schmidt (1694-1767) and his stepson August Anton Beck (1713-1787). I am grateful to Professor Cornelia Niekus Moore for first directing me to this portrait.

(8); Suedica et Finnlandica (10); Island et Grönland (3); and a second Appendix II. (6).[84] Luther's translations constitute by far the most well represented category with 294 items. The next largest category is "Latina Impressa" with 180 works. Another large category is "Biblica Gallica" with 68 works. Within the categories, the books are arranged by ascending year of publication. In addition to the bibliographic information, notes are often included that provide useful additional information such as provenance ("aus der Palmischen Sammlung"), comparisons between works, and rarity.

There is an apparent paradox existing here, in that during a time in which books, particularly the Bible, were more readily available than ever before, in multiple languages both ancient and modern, and was therefore more accessible than ever before, there was a perception of scarcity that would lead to collecting these works. Textual authenticity was a key concern of the Lutherans and the numerous versions of doctrinal texts and Bibles was the best way to guarantee the most reliable work. The fact that provenance was considered worthy of recording in a scholarly catalog confirms this attitude. The prestige value of recording the collection in a printed catalog is also worthy of analysis. While it is impossible to know how many copies of this catalog were printed or to whom they were distributed, the fact that she commissioned a catalog rather than an inventory of her books is in itself noteworthy.[85] As Jill Bepler has described, catalogs are designed to serve as aids for use in a collection, while an inventory is a

[84] These categories are found in the table of contents in the catalog to her Bible collection; see Knoch.

[85] According to the GVK, there are currently 13 copies at libraries in the network (4 at the HAB, and one each at the Herzogin Anna Amalia library in Weimar, the Landesamt für Kultur und Denkmalpflege Mecklenburg-Vorpommern Landesbibliothek (Schwerin), the University Library in Rostock, the Landesbibliothek in Oldenburg, the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Hannoverscher Behördenbibliothek (Hannover), the Franskesche Stiftungen Bibliothek (Halle/Saale), and the University and State library of Sachsen-Anhalt (Halle). This pattern of distribution suggests that the catalog could have been distributed to other noble families in Lutheran territories.

record of the items in it.[86] Creating a catalog and distributing it serves as a visible exhibition of the contents as well as the function of a collection.

Elisabeth Sophie Marie also marked her collection through the use of bookplates. Her bookplate, as found in many of the surviving books from her collection, displays combinations of her dynastic affiliations. The image depicts a prancing horse, the symbol of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, inside what closely resembles the Holstein coat of arms (which is similar to that of Schaumburg) which depicts a stylized nettle leaf. This image had very specific relevance to Elisabeth Sophie Marie. In 1730, Theodor Wilhelm Ritmeier wrote a *Gelegenheitsgedicht*, or occasional poem, titled *Der Durchlauchtigsten Fürstin und Frauen, Frauen Elisabeth Sophia Maria Regierender Hertzogin zu Braunschweig und Lüneberg* [...], to celebrate Elisabeth Sophie Marie's forty-seventh birthday on September 12, 1730, which was also the twentieth anniversary of her marriage to August Wilhelm. In this work, Ritmeier specifically addresses the imagery present in the coats of arms for Braunschweig and Holstein, the two territories most strongly connected with Elisabeth Sophie Marie, in order to praise their union in her:

> Hulde, das Gepräge des Himmels, deren Natur wir nicht besser
> als unter der Gestalt eines weissen Schwans
> begreiffen,
> und
> Großmuth, das Bild des Himmels, deren Beschaffenheit nichts
> herrlicher als ein weisses Pferd abschildert
> sind Zeichen die die Hertzoglichen Häuser Braun=
> schweig und Holstein in Dero Hochfürst=
> lichen Wapens führen.[87]

Favor or grace ("Hulde") is the imprint of heaven and can be best understood in the form of a white swan, and is connected to the house of Holstein, while magnanimity, the image of heaven,

[86] Bepler 2010, 4-5.

[87] Ritmeier, 7.

is embodied by Ritmeier as a white horse, which is linked to the coat of arms for the house of Braunschweig. Both qualities, grace and magnanimity, are linked in the person of Elisabeth Sophie Marie, just as she forms a link between the houses of Braunschweig and Holstein, and just as her bookplate links the works in her collection.[88]

Elisabeth Sophie Marie's collecting definitely influenced other collectors around her. Josias Lorck was the "most successful Bible collector of the 18th century" ("der erfolgreichste Bibelsammler des 18. Jahrhunderts").[89] Lorck reportedly considered Elisabeth Sophie Marie to be one of the most famous collectors of his time: "[er] zählte die Herzogin Elisabeth Sophie Marie unter die berühmtesten Sammler seiner Zeit."[90] His collection of over 5000 Bibles and associated works was purchased en block by Carl Eugen, Herzog von Württemberg (1728-1793) in 1784 and later became the foundation of the Württembergischen Landesbibliothek's Bible collection. The reputation of Elisabeth Sophie Marie as a collector continued in his family. A catalog of this collection, *Bibliotheca biblioca Serenissimi Würtnbergensium Ducis olim Lorckiana*, was created and published in 1787 by Lorck's son-in-law Jakob Georg Christian Adler (1756-1834). The catalog entry for one Luther bible specifically references the rare Bible collection of Elisabeth Sophie Marie.[91] Another reflection of Elisabeth Sophie Marie's reputation for collecting Bibles is expressed in a catalog of rare and difficult-to-find books that was printed

[88] Ritmeier uses multiple metaphorical images to describe Elisabeth Sophie Marie, comparing her to the sun and her virtue to a heaven full of stars ("einen Himmel voller Sterne/ davon ein jeder grösser ist als er unsern Augen scheinet"). Elisabeth Sophie Marie's mere glance as *Landesmutter* is enough to rule the territory ("zwar das blosse Antlitz unserer gnädigsten/ Landes=Mutter/ Schon genug sey/ DERO Lande glückseelig zu beherrschen"); the love of her subjects burns in their hearts; and her strength is stronger than the cedars of Lebanon ("den Wachsthum der Cedern auf dem Libanon").

[89] Heitzmann, 15.

[90] Heitzmann, 15.

[91] See Adler.

in 1750 by David Clement. Clement dedicated his *Bibliotheque Curieuse Historique et Critique ou Catalogue Raisonne de Livres Dificiles a Trouver* to Elisabeth Sophie Marie.[92] In his introductory preface to the work, Clement makes clear that he expects Elisabeth Sophie Marie to find pleasure in his work for reasons that include but are not limited to her religious beliefs: "I know that Your Royal Highness loves reading & books. I have admired more than once the care that You take to augment Your library: & above all to sanctify it, by this magnificent collection of sacred books, which Your Royal Highness has so vigorously accrued since my departure, that it is perhaps without equal in Europe: whether for the number of volumes, or for the rarity of the editions."[93] Elisabeth Sophie Marie's magnificent collection is described here as without equal in Europe, and it is remarkable both for the number of volumes and for their rarity.

Another text demonstrates the way in which the collection was intended to be used to support theological scholarship. In 1758, the pastor Johann Carl Koken produced an edition of the New and Old Testaments, *Biblia, Das ist: Die ganze Heilige Schrift, Altes und Neues Testaments, verdeutscht, von D. Martin Luther nach der raren Bibelsammlung Ihrer hochfürstlichen Durchlauchten Elisabeth Sophien Marien, verwittweten regierenden Herzoginn zu Braunschweig-Lüneburg, herausgegeben von M. Johann Carl Koken, Past. zu St. Martini, Rathsprediger und des Consistorii Assessor.* This work is based on the Bible collection of Elisabeth Sophie Marie: "Your princely Highness Elisabeth Sophie Marie, dowager ruling Duchess of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, has with the utmost benevolence allowed me the use of Your priceless Bible collection. The most splendid of these Bibles remains the first fruit of this

[92] See Clement.

[93] Clement, Preface: "Je sai que V.A.S. aime la lecture & les Livres. J'ai admiré plus d'une fois les soins qu'Elle se donnoit, pour augmenter Sa Bibliothéque: & sur tout pour la sanctifier, par cette magnifique Collection de Livres Sacrés, que V.A.S. a si fort acrüe depuis mon départ, qu'elle n'a peut-être pas sa pareille en Europe: soit pour le nombre des Volumes, soit pour la rareté des Editions."

admirable grace."[94] In his foreword, "M. Johann Carl Kokens kurze Geschichte der deutschen Bibelübersetzung Lutheri," which provides a short history of the Luther Bible translation, Koken places a strong emphasis on its importance for the Protestant religion, particularly in the reading of the Bible as a devotional act.[95] The Bible as a written text forms the basis of the Reformation, and therefore Koken describes the importance of using the best edition possible. His foreword involves an extensive discussion of the relative merits and weakness of various editions and their publishers and editors, and he notes that there is much to be learned from comparing the different editions.[96] His edition includes a glossary, titled the "Explanation of some Old German, or otherwise unknown words, occurring in the Luther Bible translation" ("Erklärung einiger, in der Bibelübersetzung Lutheri vorkommenden, altdeutschen, oder sonst etwas unbekannten, Wörter"), which is intended to clarify Luther's words for readers who might be unfamiliar with certain expressions. The most important feature of his edition, as demonstrated by Koken's glossary and by his description of his methodology on pages 13-14 of his foreword, is its legitimacy--Koken spends a significant portion of his foreword explaining to the reader that his edition of Luther's own translation relies on reliable sources as found in Elisabeth Sophie Marie's Bible collection and that this text is an important document for the Protestant religion. Koken's explanations and his glossary seek to convey an impression of transparency to the reader. This is a text designed to be used. It was added to Elisabeth Sophie Marie's collection, and the copy that is located in the Herzog August Bibliothek has Elisabeth Sophie Marie's bookplate in the front cover, indicating her ownership.

[94] Koken, 13. "Ihro hochfürstlichen Durchlauchten Elisabeth Sophie Marie, verwittwete regierende Herzoginn zu Braunschweig-Lüneburg, haben mir den Gebrauch Ihrer unschätzbaren Bibelsammlung allerhuldreichst erlaubt. Das Vorzügliche dieses Bibeldruckes bleibt die erste Frucht dieser verehrungswürdigen Gnade."

[95] Koken, 1.

[96] Koken, 2-11.

All of these sources indicate that Elisabeth Sophie Marie saw the printed medium as an appropriate venue for her own activity as a ruling duchess, a regent, a ruling duchess once again, and as a widow. Elisabeth Sophie Marie's role as the founder of her Bible collection is linked to her representation as the former ruling duchess of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. In her various representations, from her bookplate to the coin she issued upon a visit to Braunschweig-Lüneburg, to the portrait of her in the inventory to her collection--one that places her next to a picture of Martin Luther--she clearly stakes her claim to being an active participant in the cultural prominence of the dynasty. She donated her Bible collection to the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel and was active in sponsoring scholarship and allowing access to it during her lifetime. Elisabeth Sophie Marie's job is to act as the pillar of prayer in her territory, which is a part of her social role as a duchess. Her religious convictions found expression in her Bible collection, which she describes as a way to glorify God. Had her collecting been a solely private and personal devotional act, it seems unlikely that she would have issued a printed catalog intended for scholarly use, sponsored scholars, and depicted herself in close proximity to Luther. It is striking that she chose to donate her collection, unlike that of her beloved maternal aunt/mother-in-law Elisabeth Juliane, to a renowned library, rather than a convent, confirming the political and dynastic importance of the collection. Elisabeth Sophie Marie was a knowledgeable and discerning collector whose collection was intended to provide a legacy for her and to emphasize her importance and membership in the Wolfenbüttel dynasty.

2.3 Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie of Sachsen-Meiningen (1681-1766)

In the case of Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie of Sachsen-Meiningen (1681-1766), who was abbess at the "Imperial free secular foundation of Gandersheim" ("Kaiserlich freie weltliche Reichsstift Gandersheim"), which was a type of secular abbey, the book collection she

assembled was intended explicitly for use, a purpose which it continues to fulfill today. The collection is now at the Bibliothek des Predigerseminars und der Landeskirche at the Theologisches Zentrum and Predigerseminar der Ev.-luth. Landeskirche in Braunschweig.[97] Handwritten dedications and letters describing the context of the books' donation to the abbey at Gandersheim, the document re-establishing the abbey library in 1721, and her portrait, as well as the dedicatory poem she wrote on the occasion of the death of her Oberhofmeister Kroll in 1749, reveal the ways in which Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie constructed her collecting.

Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie was the eldest daughter of Bernard I, the first duke of Sachsen-Meiningen (1649-1706) and Elisabeth Eleonore of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1658-1729), the daughter of Anton Ulrich of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1633-1714), in her second marriage.[98] Instead of marrying, Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie entered Gandersheim and became its abbess in 1713 at the age of 32. The abbey at Gandersheim was founded in 852 by Duke Liudolf and his wife Oda, and after the Reformation it became a Protestant secular foundation. The abbess at Gandersheim had authority over not only the inhabitants of the abbey but also the territory; therefore, its abbess was in a powerful and influential political and religious position. Serving as abbess at Gandersheim was part of a long family tradition. Recent events had reflected badly upon the family, however: Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie's maternal aunt Henriette Christine von Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1669-1753), who was the abbess at Gandersheim from 1691-1712, gave birth to a child in 1712. After bearing this child, which had been fathered by the abbey official (*Abteihofmeister*) Georg Christoph von Braun, Henriette Christine resigned as

[97] The Theologisches Zentrum and Predigerseminar der Ev.-luth. Landeskirche in Braunschweig, an institution for educating theologians in a post-graduate function to become ministers, was founded in 1690 as the Predigerseminar der Ev.-luth. Landeskirche by Anton Ulrich and Rudolph August, in the former monastary of Riddagshausen. It was forced to close in 1933 and again in 1938 but reopened, with its library, in 1952 (http://www.thzbs.de/141.html).

[98] Bernard's mother, Elisabeth Sophia of Sachsen-Altenburg (1619-1680), was a member of the Tugendliche Gesellschaft under the name "die Keusche" ("the chaste one").

abbess, converted to Catholicism, and lived out her life as a nun in the Catholic cloister in Roemond.[99] Henriette Christine's immediate successor was Marie Elisabeth, Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (1646-1713), who died after having been in office for approximately one year and thus had little influence on the abbey. Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie's younger sister Eleonore Frederike (1683-1739) was also a *Stiftsdame* in Gandersheim. Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie's successor as abbess was Therese von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1728-1778) and the last abbess at Gandersheim was Auguste Dorothea von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1749-1810).[100] The abbey at Gandersheim was dissolved in 1810, upon the death of Auguste Dorothea, under Jerome Bonaparte (1784-1860), the brother of Napoleon and king of Westphalia from 1807-1813.[101]

Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie was the abbess at Gandersheim for fifty-three years until 1767. In 1721, after she had been abbess for eight years, she, along with her deaconesses and canonesses, drew up an edict re-founding the abbey library.[102] This edict, consisting of fourteen points, specifically outlined the purpose of the library, how it was to be maintained and increased and by whom, and made provisions designed to insure its long-term existence. The purpose of this edict, and of the library is clear: the abbey formerly had a numerous and respectable library, which they know from many sources, and it is painful to the current administration and members

[99] See the article by Küppers-Braun.

[100] Kronenberg 1981 lists all of the abbesses at Gandersheim.

[101] See Kronenberg 1981, "Auguste Dorothea."

[102] I am very grateful to Frau Canstein at the Bibliothek des Predigerseminars und der Landeskirche at the Theologisches Zentrum and Predigerseminar der Ev.-luth. Landeskirche in Braunschweig for providing me with the text of this statement.

of the abbey that there is nothing left of this former resource.[103] Therefore they have decided to outline methods to not only establish a new library containing "both privately and publicly-owned books," but to insure that their successors will continue to maintain the library in perpetuity. Their intentions are to establish this tradition as "an eternally-unchangeable, unbreakable rule" ("zu einer ewigen unverenderlichen, und unverbrüchlichen Richtsch[n]ur gesetzet haben"). The abbey library as a resource is considered an essential part of the institution and it is the duty of those who are associated with it to maintain the library. The focus is on building a resource to serve the needs of the abbey. While the library undoubtedly added to the prestige of the abbey, the 14 points emphasize use and access. The act of founding a library for women is a conscious and deliberate decision that moves beyond assembling a personal collection in that rather than serving and reflecting the needs of one individual, the library takes on the character of a community resource. Here the library serves the female community of the abbey, and the community is expected to support the library in turn.

The fourteen points which concern the administration, maintenance, and continued existence of the library demonstrate the integration of the library's maintenance and use into all aspects of life in the abbey. The first point directs all who are connected with the abbey, from the head and members to their noble and learned "servants" ("Bediente"), "to acquire a "handsome

[103] Sachsen-Meiningen, "Bibliotheksbegrundungsordnung": "Wie Wir zwar auß vielerley Nachrichten abnehmen können, daß ehedem dieses Stifft mit einer ansehnlichen, und zahlreichen Bibliothec versehen gewesen, dabey Unß aber schmertzlich zu gemüthe gehe, daß auch nichts, alß der leere Platz davon übrig ist, und Wir Unß daher gemüßiget gesehen, auff Mittell und Wege zu gedencken, wie Wir zu Unsern Zeiten die Heilsahme Anstalt verfügen möchten, daß zu einer Neuen Bibliothec wenigstens nur der Anfang mit denen nöhtigsten zu Unserm Statu, wo wohl Publico alß Privato gehörigen Büchern gemacht, und hinkünfftig, nach Unserm Exempel, von denen Nachkommen damit continuiret werden könte; Zu welchem Ende Wir dann heute dato in Capitulo Generali S.S. Anastasii et Innocentii nachfolgende Puncten, so woll für Unß Selbst, alß auch vohr Unßere Successoren, Bey Abtey und Stifft festgesetzet, und zu einer ewigen unverenderlichen, und unverbrüchlichen Richtsch(n)ur gesetzet haben."

and useful book" ("ein Ansehnliches und Nützliches Buch") for the library.[104] The choice of the specific book is to be left up to the individual, and there are no regulations regarding price or determining the title. Rather, the individual decision is to be determined by "good intention, liberality, and means" and the only criteria is to select the type of text that would best serve the needs of the abbey ("mit waß Ahrt Schrifften, sie seyn groß oder klein, dem Stifft am meisten gedienet seyn dörffte"). The following six points discuss who is required to contribute to the library and regulates the financial contributions from those in the abbey: the abbey preachers are required to contribute, since they receive the greatest part of their income from the abbey, for example, and on the first Monday of every month, a bowl for contributions to the library fund will be circulated among the deaconesses and members of the abbey.[105] Employees and servants of the abbey are exempt from these requirements since their income is too small. Point eight lays out the guidelines for circulation of the library materials: the normal circulation period is one week, and the library shall be open for two hours after the church service on Mondays and Fridays so that users may look through the works that are there and check them out.[106] In point nine, the job of the librarian is outlined: in addition to maintaining a catalog of works organized

[104] Sachsen-Meiningen, "Bibliotheksbegrundungsordnung": "So wollen Wir beedes Haubt und Glieder, iedes vohr sich ein Ansehnliches und Nützliches Buch zwischen hier, oder diesem General Capitel übers Jahr anschaffen, und liefern, Auch Unsere, sowohl Adeliche alß Gelehrte Bediente anweisen, dergleichen zu thun, Unsere Nachkommen, und dehren Bediente aber sollen, die Stiffts Personen vohr der Introduction, und die Bediente bey Ihrem Antritt ohne Außnahme oder Dispensation darzu verbunden sein, doch alßo und dero Gestalt, daß hierinnen niemandem Maaß oder ordnung gegeben vielweniger ein preiß gesetzet, sondern eines ieden guter Intention, Liberalität und Vermögen überlaßen werde, waß Er hierinnen anweden wolle, nur daß man Ihm an Hand gebe, mit waß Ahrt Schrifften, sie seyn groß oder klein, dem Stifft am meisten gedienet seyn dörffte."

[105] Sachsen-Meiningen, "Bibliotheksbegrundungsordnung," points 2-7.

[106] Sachsen-Meiningen, "Bibliotheksbegrundungsordnung": "diese Bücherey von dem gantzen Stiffte und deßen Anverwandten zusammen gebracht wird, so bleibet Sie auch billig zu gemeinsamen, doch vorsichtigen und unschädlichen Gebrauch bestimmet, so daß gleichwoll niemandt über eine Woche, ohne speciale Erlaubniß Abbetiae et Capituli einig Buch bey sich behalten möge, da Wir inzwischen Unsere Sorgfalt dahin richten wollen, daß fordersambst ein locus publicus entweder im Münster, oder im dem Stiffte außersehen und aptiret werde, wo diese Unsere Bibliothec vohr beständig bleiben könne, da so dann selbige wöchentlich vier Stunden, nemblich Montages und Freytages nach dem Gottesdienst, iedesmehl zwey Stunden offen, und iedem Literato, der sich daselbst einfinden wirdt, durchzusehen, und in loco sich deren zu bedienen, frey stehen soll."

alphabetically by author's name, by subject, and by the number of books, the librarian is to keep a manual recording who has checked out which books, in which the person checking out the book is to write a record of the loan.[107] The librarian is also responsible for keeping a list of the most important and useful authors, a type of reader's advisory. This is a comprehensive plan for founding, maintaining, and regulating the institution of the library.

The following points (10-12) concern the actual book, which is to be bound with the abbey seal on the front and the abbey seal on the back (point 10), in which the donors are to record their names and the date of the donation with their own hands. If the donor is absent or has willed the book to the abbey, the librarian shall write this information in the book ("zum Gedächtniß") (point 11).[108] The donor information is recorded in the books, which serves as a type of commemoration; the donor chooses the book which exists as a textual memory in a collection shaped by gifts. The value of the book is evaluated according to its suitableness, durability, and also its decoration and uniformity to other volumes in the collection ("Den Bandt, so ist darinnen, nebst der bequemblich-und dauerhafftigkeit, auch auff die Zierde und

[107] Sachsen-Meiningen, "Bibliotheksbegrundungsordnung": "und nebst einem dreyfachen Catalogo, alß (1) Nach dem Nahmen der Autorum, (2) nach denen Materien, beede Ordine Alphabetico und (3) nach der Zahl der Bücher, von welchem letzteren auch eine Abschrifft bey der Abtei Cantzlelei und Kronenhauß auffbewahret, und jährlich continuiret werden kan, ein manuale halten solle, wor einjeder der ein Buch entlehnet, deßen empfang mit eigenen Händen notiren, der Bibliothecarius aber die Wiederlieferung darunter bescheinigen könne, wie dann auch der iedesmahlige Bibliothecarius von allen in residentz tretenden Stiffts und anderen oben benannten Personen bey vohrzeigung dieser Unserer Verordnung, ein Buch zu fordern und einzutreiben hiermit auffs kräfftigste autorisiret wirdt, zu welchem Ende negstens ein Liste der nöhtigsten und nützlichensten Autorum dieser Bibliothec beygefüget, und von Zeit zu Zeit vermehret werden solle, worunter ein jeder nach seinem Vermögen, oder neigunge wählen könne."

[108] Sachsen-Meiningen, "Bibliotheksbegrundungsordnung": "Zu solcher Absicht dienlich erachtet, daß ieder Person, die hierzu ein Buch bestimmet, Ihren Nahmen, auff die zweyte Seite des Titelblades eigenhändig, mit sambt der Jahrzahl und Ihrem tragenden Charactere schreibe, mithin zugleich das Andencken aller im hiesigen Stifft lebender, und nachkommender Personen beybehalten werde; wann aber ein abwesender ein Buch schencken oder jemand per testament einige legiren würde, daß sodann der Bibliothecarius, des gebenden Nahmen zum Gedächtniß, auff erst besagte Ahrt darinnen auffzeichne."

Uniformitet, vornehmlich gesehen worden"). Creating a collection with uniform bindings makes it a recognizable unit, visually marked as a coherent entity.

The final two points are designed to insure that the earlier points will be followed by the successors in the abbey. Point thirteen states that the intention of this document is to provide a model for the successors to follow, in order to honor God, for the preservation of this institution and so that they never allow it to fall into disrepair.[109] Point fourteen states that to guarantee that all of that which has been outlined in the document is maintained, all those who join the abbey will be required to sign this edict.

This edict demonstrates several different motivations for assembling the books into a collection for the abbey library. In addition to the broader purpose of honoring God ("Gott zu ehren"), the collection revolves around access and use, as demonstrated by the specific requirements for a loan record, catalogs, and opening hours for the collection. There are many different provisions for increasing the collection through donations and through establishing a fund for purchases. The collection also functions as a means of memorializing the giver and as a record of those who were connected with it. "Handsomeness" is a desirable quality in the books. Yet "usefulness" is more important--those who donate books are requested to do so based on the needs of the abbey, as they see fit and as they are able and willing to do so. The primary consideration is the size of the collection. Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie and the members of the abbey are first and foremost interested in filling those empty shelves, and in filling that conspicuous gap in the abbey with useful books. The absence of a library is painful to them. The abbey is conspicuously lacking an essential element for the women who live there. There is

[109] Sachsen-Meiningen, "Bibliotheksbegrundungsordnung," point 13: "alß sind Wir auch des gesicherten Vertrauens, daß Unsere Successores, Gott zu Ehren, diesem Unserem wohlgemeinten Instituto von selbst sträcklich nachsetzen, darüber steiff und fest halten, und eß nimmer in Verfall oder Abgang kommen laßen werden."

clearly an acutely felt need for books, reading, and the associated devotional practices among the female inhabitants of Gandersheim, who as a rule came from high-ranking families and were generally well educated. There is no explicitly-stated programmatic system of collecting, in the sense of a thematic orientation, which is linked to the personality of one individual that would reflect the traditional perspective of a collection. Instead, a communal sense of the most appropriate books reflecting the religious orientation of the abbey affects their selections for the library.

Yet in the actual acquisition of the books, Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie is the dominant figure. In her role as abbess, she wrote many letters to friends, relatives, and acquaintances asking for donations of books for the abbey library.[110] Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie was clearly the driving force behind the establishment of the library and the expansion of the collections. Another method of providing information for the collection was by recording sermons. Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie also transcribed by hand sermons for a period of many years, starting in 1709 and ending in 1760. These sermons are also in the collection of the Bibliothek des Predigerseminars und der Landeskirche at the Theologisches Zentrum and Predigerseminar der Ev.-luth. Landeskirche in Braunschweig. The letters and books that were sent to the abbey refer to her directly as the impetus for the collection or as the person in charge of it. Through her letters, she managed to accumulate a library of approximately 760 volumes while expending very little money. According to Curt Höfner, Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie sent letters asking for books to a wide audience ("ihr[en] ganz[en] Verwandten- und Bekanntenkreis"), including her noble cousins, the canons and their relatives, the clergy, the professors at the universities in Helmstedt

[110] See Fabian.

and Göttingen, and the local nobility.[111] (He does not mention other women at the abbey doing so, although by signing the edict they presumably would also have solicited book donations from their families.) These letters were successful in that books began to arrive at the Gandersheim cloister, although some recipients commissioned Johann Anton von Kroll (1666-1749), Elisabeth Ernestine's "Oberstallmeister und Oberhofmeister" beginning in 1713, to purchase a book rather than providing their own. Thus the abbess could have a more direct role in shaping her library. Information about the donation--the benefactor's name, date, price if purchased, the cost of binding, and often the original letter from Elisabeth Ernestine--was frequently recorded in the book itself.[112] Although not specifically stated in the edict founding the library, many of these books include information about the price of the book and of its binding, indicating that this was an important piece of information for those keeping the library. Many of these books are preserved in the collection of the Bibliothek des Predigerseminars und der Landeskirche at the Theologisches Zentrum and Predigerseminar der Ev.-luth. Landeskirche in Braunschweig. According to Gabriele Canstein, there are approximately 700 titles, or 1600 volumes, which forms a major part of the former abbey library at the Bibliothek des Predigerseminars und der Landeskirche.

The bindings of the books vary, based on the circumstances of their acquisition, but many of them are bound in a similar style, with the arms of the abbey on the front and the seal of the abbey at Gandersheim on the back (Figure 3). The handwritten dedications, as well as the handwritten documentation noting the cost of the book and its binding, make clear that these

[111] Höfner, 202-203.

[112] Höfner, 203.

books were given to the abbey or acquired for the library in connection with Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie and the guidelines laid out in the edict of 1721.

In several of the books, there are dedications that explain the context of the donation. In a work by Anton Faber entitled *Europäische Staats-Canzley in sich haltend allerhand Nutzliche Staats-Justiz-Policey-Cameral-Militar-und andere uff Reichs- und Creys-Tägen passirte merckwürdige Materien samt vieler hohen potentaten Republic-quen und herrschafften curiosen Schrifften Ceremonialien und Propositionen den bevorstehenden Frieden betreffend Ausgefertigt und in gewisse Fasciculos eingetheilet nebst einem Anhange de Statu Poloniae durch Antonium Faßrum, Historigraphum. Gedruckt in Jahr Christin 1697,* the following dedication is found, written by Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie herself: "Dieses ist ein present von Meiner Frau Schwägerin der Verwittweten Herzogin von Sachsen Meiningen ge-bohrner konigl. Prinzessin von preußen Ldb. [Liebden] in hiesiger Stifftsbibliotheque. Elisabet Ernestine Antoinette. Abb. Z. G. H. Z. [Abbtissin zu Gandersheim Herzogin zu] Sachsen mpp. ["manu propria," or in her own hand] [with the notation] Materia et ligatura constant 50 Thl. 7 ½ mg" (Figure 4). On the opposing page, there is another dedication that reads: "De Votre Altesse la tres humble a Fidelle Soeur et Servante Elisabeth Sophie BDS."[113] Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie is following the edict founding the library and recording the information about this item's acquisition in order to make that information available to later generations. Another dedication, this time in a legal text in Latin by Nicolaus Christoph von Lyncker (1643-1726) with the title *Rerum in SSeren. Ducum Saxoniae Dicasteriis Ienesibus Decisarum Centuriae XV* [...] (1715-1720), reads: "Diese Buch hat die dürchlaüchtige Princessin Sophia .p. [abbreviation for "praemicis primitendis"] Fürstin zü Waldeck, Canonissin zü Gandersheim, der Stiffts bibliotheck geschenckt dürch dero

[113] Possibly a reference to Elisabeth Sophie of Brandenburg (1674-1748).

Mandatarium J. A. v. Kroll 1728. Constat Materia 2. Thl. 12 mg. Ligatura 30 mg." Women as well as men are donating works for the abbey library, and this work is surprising for both its subject matter as well as its language.

One letter that is still in the book donated, from the Pastor Joachim Just Breithaupt in 1731, records the circumstances of his acquaintance with Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie and of the request for his book (Figure 5).

> Since a fairly long time has elapsed, I recently had reason to thank God when I heard from our H[err] Pastor Freylinghausen[114] that Your Highness was predisposed in my favor and would like to see if I could send some of my printed writings to Your Noble abbey library. In accordance with this permission, here are three German devotional texts: (1) Das Saltz der Erden. (2) Die Creutz-Predigten. und (3) Die CharfreytagsPredigten. Here it will be permitted me to commemorate, to the glory of the all-high divine providence, how Your Noble Person has been guided in wondrous and holy ways so that You are freed from the heights of the world, and You find Yourself in such an arc of life in which You [bring] many souls to edification and Christian eternity through the power of the Holy Spirit in Jesus Christ, and I wish to promote and bless this good intention![115]

[114] Most likely a reference to Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen (1670-1739), the Pietist theologian and hymnist.

[115] Breithaupt, Joachim Just. Letter to Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie of Sachsen-Meiningen. 7 May 1731. Collection of the Bibliothek des Predigerseminars und der Landeskirche at the Theologisches Zentrum and Predigerseminar der Ev.-luth. Landeskirche in Braunschweig. I would like to thank Frau Canstein for generous assistance with both the letter and its transcription. "Da nun inzwischen eine geraume Zeit verfloßen, habe ich neulich Gotte zu dancken gehabt, als ich von unserm H[errn] Pastore Freylinghausen vernommen, daß Ew. Durchl. Meiner in Gnaden nicht uneingedenck wären, auch gerne sehen möchten, so ich etwas von meinen gedruckten Schrifften in Dero Hochfürstl. Stiffts=Bibliothec könte überschicken. Dieser gnägisten permission zufolge, werden hiebey kommen drey teutsche erbauliche Schrifften: (1) Das Saltz der Erden. (2) Die Creutz-Predigten. Und (3) Die CharfreytagsPredigten. Wobey mir wird erlaubet seyn, zum Preise der allerhöchsten Göttl. Vorsorge zu gedencken, wie wundersam und heiliglich Ihre Hochfürstl. Person geführet sey, so daß Sie von den Höhen der Weldt befreyet worden, und in solchen Lebens=Arth sich befinden, worinnen Sie vielen Seelen zur Erbauung und christlichem Ewigkeit durch die Krafft des Heil. Geistes in Christo Jesu, und wolle die gute intention mächtiglich fördern und segnen!"

Breithaupt has heard from another pastor that Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie would appreciate copies of his printed works for her abbey library, and he obliges with the works and with a letter praising Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie's care for the edification of many souls and their eternal Christian nature. Breithaupt seems to suggest that it reflects well on him for his name to be associated with the good works of the abbey and its library. Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie duly recorded his donation. In the work *D. Joach. Just Breithaupts Drey Kreuß Predigten* (1724), Elisabeth Ernestine Antoine writes "Dieses Buch hat mir mein ehmahliger Preceptor, H. Doctor und Abt Breithaubt von hiesiger Stiffts bibliotheque das vorige Jahr zugeschicht, Abteÿ Gandersheim den 27. April 1737. Elisabet Ernestine Antoinette Ab. Z. G. H. Z. Sachsen mpp." The book serves as an appropriate location in which to record this relationship (Figure 6).

One of the motivations for assembling this collection attributed to Elisabeth Ernestine was to improve the reputation of the abbey, particularly in light of its long scholarly tradition. Gandersheim was the home of the tenth-century woman writer Hrothsvita (the "strong voice" of Gandersheim), who had written Latin plays in the style of Terence and is considered to be the first German poet.[116] Both Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie and Oberhofmeister Kroll shared an interest in ancient history, the history of the empire, and in the history of Gandersheim. Kroll collected documents about the history of Gandersheim and assembled a collection in the archives; Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie commissioned a history of Gandersheim.[117] Kroll was an educated man who had traveled widely and visited many libraries in Rome.[118]

[116] See Wilson. Canstein draws attention to the level of education that Hrothsvita must have possessed, and how it played a role in Gandersheim (49).

[117] See Harenberg.

[118] Zahlten 1977, 74.

While in certain depictions, the Oberhofmeister Kroll is given primary credit for the existence of the Gandersheim abbey library, the evidence suggests that Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie, and those around her, viewed her as the primary collector. In the poem, *E.E.A. beehret hiermit das rühmliche Gedächtniß Ihres beynahe 40. Jahr lang gewesenen wohlverdienten Oberhofmeisters/ Herrn Johann Anton Krolls von Freyhen/ des lezten seines Geschlechts* (1749), written on the occasion of the death of Oberhofmeister Johann Anton Kroll, Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie expresses her gratitude to Kroll for his valuable service. She makes clear, however, that the work he has undertaken for the abbey was at her command and specifically in her service. Her repeated use of the personal possessive ("meinen Nahmen," "mein Denckmahl," "mein Grabmahl," "mein Huld," "meine Gunst," and "mein Stifft") claims ownership of the work that was done to improve the abbey. In this poem, Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie repeatedly emphasizes her role as abbess, as the head of the abbey and the person responsible for establishing a foundation for the future. Kroll's job was to serve as a trusted advisor and to aid in this work, but the final responsibility for it is hers. These books were acquired for use in the Gandersheim abbey library.

In addition to this book collection at Gandersheim Abbey, there was a second collection at the abbess' summer palace Brunshausen. Elisabeth Ernestine had expressed interested in turning Brunshausen into a school for girls from the lower nobility, and in Brunshausen she assembled a museum of various collections, including coins, sculptures, paintings, and porcelain. These collections, including her library, were assembled with her own money and as gifts and exchanges among her family members, particularly her brother Anton Ulrich von Sachsen-Meiningen (1687-1783). Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie was an avid painter and musician, an interest she also shared with Oberhofmeister Kroll. Descriptions of the life of the abbess and of

Gandersheim draw very clear distinctions between the two book collections.[119] They were assembled in different ways. The bookplates and bindings differed (those in Brunshausen were more elaborate); the contents and languages were different. The Gandersheim collection is constructed as serving a devotional and representational purpose, that of enhancing the prestige of the abbey, while the Brunshausen collection is portrayed as educational and pedagogical. Another construction emphasizes the "public" nature of Gandersheim and the "private" nature of Brunshausen.[120]

In the portrait painted of Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie in 1734, she is represented by various aspects of her artistic interests and activities.[121] This portrait by the court painter Johann Peter Harburg, which hangs among 24 other portraits of abbesses and canonesses of Gandersheim in the Kaisersaal of the Gandersheim abbey, is the only full portrait of an abbess at Gandersheim that depicts its subject with objects representing her own specific interests. She is depicted sitting in her study and exhibiting her collections. In addition to her book collection, Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie is depicted with music and the clavichord, representing her singing ability, her clavichord playing, and composing; a tapestry sewn by her, depicting the sacrifice of Elias on Mount Carmel, Joshua with the sword and the inscription "Hear me, Lord" ("Erhöre mich Herr"), indicates her skill at sewing and embroidery; Brunshausen, the castle in the background, which represents her building activities; three statues on rococo pedestals (Lucrezia and two athletes) representing the sculpture collection in Brunshausen, which consisted of over 160 figures in 1725; a picture album turned to a page of a person sacrificing to the statue of

[119] See both articles by Zahlten.

[120] See Höfner.

[121] Zahlten 1977, 69.

Apollo of Belvedere in an antique landscape, in order to represent her collection of 300 drawings and copperplate engravings in Brunshausen; a casket with coins depicting the coin collection in Brunshausen which was willed to her brother; fossils, shells, and stones to portray the *Naturalienkabinett* in Brunshausen, of which a catalog was printed in 1724; and a painting to depict her skill in painting.[122] The shelf of books representing her book collection appears to be the one at Brunshausen since it depicts works related to her personal interests. The titles are "Philosophie/Experim./Natur.Gesch., Historia Antiqua et Moderna, Geographie, Geometrie, Architektur, Optica, Mechanik, Res Nat., Heraldik and Mythologie" but not Theology--there is no Bible there.[123] Thus the collection at Gandersheim reflected religious and devotional interests, while the Brunshausen collections mirrored the secular interests of their owner.

In Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie's will, her coin collection and many of her other collections were willed to her brother Anton Ulrich. In her will, she leaves 100 Thaler as capital, the interest of which is to be used to buy one book every one to two years for the abbey library. There seems to be no separate provision for the book collection in Brunshausen, which was combined with the library of the abbey after her death. Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie valued the collections she assembled, and clearly saw the establishment of a library at Gandersheim as a priority. Her representation in her portrait with these books that reflected her collection clearly indicates their importance. The evidence of her writings suggests that neither the abbey library nor the Brunshausen collection were intended to serve only as a type of memorial to her, but

[122] Zahlten 1977.

[123] Zahlten 1977, 71: "Die in Leder gebundene Bücherreihe ist nicht nur stellvertretend für die Bibliothek der Abtei und die Brunshausener Handbibliothek zu sehen: Die goldenen Titel auf den Bücherrücken erlauben uns, die verschiedenen fachwissenschaftlichen Gebiete der Bibliotheken und damit auch die besonderen Interessengebiete von Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie kennenzulernen. Wir lesen auf den Bänden von links nach rechts: *Philosophie/Experim./Natur.Gesch., Historia Antiqua et Moderna, Geographie, Geometrie, Architektur, Optica, Mechanik, Res Nat., Heraldik* und *Mythologie.* Die Titel der beiden letzten Bücher sind von einem roten Vorhang verdeckt. Theologische Werke werden überraschenderweise nicht genannt."

were instead working collections. She was not a "bibliophile" in the sense of collecting books as aesthetic objects--she seems to have viewed her books in an entirely separate way than she viewed her collections of paintings, of coins, of fossils, and of porcelain. Books and texts were useful tools and essential to her role as the abbess, and they were not collected merely for their bindings or for their beautiful pictures. They were research and devotional literature. It also suggests that she viewed the acquisition of books and the founding of a library at Gandersheim as an entirely natural and appropriate activity.

Both women describe texts and books in terms of active use; when they acquire books, they do so in order to read them and to discuss them, and to make them available to others for use. The book functions as a means of transferring information. Although donated books serve a memorial function in recording their donors, this information is peripheral to the value of the book. These collections were founded to serve a specific purpose for a particular group of users, and the collections were intended to exist in perpetuity. There is much more discussion of the contents of the books and their position in the literary contexts than there is of their bindings and illustrations, which contradicts the persona of the book collector as aesthete discussed in the previous chapter, and suggests that the depiction of women as more likely to be only interested in books for their aesthetic qualities is not shared by these two early modern women.[124] For them, books and texts are not represented as merely decorative or a luxury item. They are portrayed as essential. Books and texts represent access to information and knowledge, and thus they are connected to education, and to power and influence, which these women openly

[124] This "decorative" style of collecting, connected to the quality of illustrations, typography, bindings, and materials used rather than the contents, seems to be most often linked to the French (see, for example, Hobson, 15). It would be interesting to investigate whether our modern-day object-based paradigm of collecting is a "French" phenomenon.

recognize. Both women are collectors, challenging the nature of that construction as an eccentric hobby and luxury pursuit that exists outside of cultural centers of power.

This chapter offers case studies of two women associated with institutions that had a long history of book collecting and educated women. The two women here serve as examples of the two possible careers paths available to noble Lutheran women: marriage and service to the church. Their activities demonstrate that these women actively and vigorously shaped the culture of the court and abbey, respectively, through their book collections. Their advocacy of books and learning had both significant religious and political dimensions, owing to the high rank of these women. By collecting books, making them available to scholars and intellectual communities, and preserving them for future generations, these women were not only fulfilling the very high expectations of them as representatives of the nobility, but they also articulated clear visions of the importance of books and libraries to the institution in particular and society at large.

CHAPTER THREE: IN HER OWN WORDS: REPRESENTATIONS OF TEXTUAL INTERACTION

In her work *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, Elizabeth Eisenstein discusses how the way in which texts were preserved, exchanged, and curated changed after printing. This depiction of information highlights how the modern identity of the collector is separated from other aspects of information use such as creation and use. In many representations, the act of collecting refers to those who do not create and who do not read their texts. Constructions of the collector that depict this identity as "eccentric" and outside the cultural centers of power (as in Aleida Assmann's work) and constructions that define a collector in juxtaposition with that which a collector is assumed not to be, such as a librarian or book dealer, remove the collector and the act of collecting from active engagement with broader networks of information exchange. When Mikhail Karasik writes that the collector should take an active role in supporting the creation of bibliographic works, his argument comes off as revolutionary. Yet Elisabeth Sophie Marie and Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie, discussed in Chapter Two, were both actively involved in sponsoring and commissioning works in addition to writing their own. For these women, as for Caroline of Ansbach (1683-1737) and Wilhelmine of Bayreuth (1709-1758), discussed here, book collecting formed part of a larger sphere of activity that required participation in and awareness of all aspects of the way information is created and used, exchanged and preserved. For them, collecting was an act that reflected their positions as noble women in centers of cultural power rather than a peripheral luxury. In the texts under examination in this chapter, representations of collecting texts and written documents form part

of a larger discourse that reflects concern with all of the aspects of the information lifecycle and depicts them as overlapping and intertwined.

The two women in this chapter both described collecting in terms of textual interaction on a broader scale. Caroline of Ansbach, the wife of George II of Great Britain, is considered one of the most important consorts in the Hanoverian dynasty during the personal union between Hanover and Great Britain. She was an educated woman who owned several book collections and who, in her correspondence with the philosopher Leibniz, frequently discussed books and their acquisition. Her collection was left to her husband in her will. My source for Caroline is the correspondence she carried out with Leibniz between the years 1705-1714, in which her interactions with texts and her perceptions of them can be seen. Caroline of Ansbach's written correspondence with the philosopher Leibniz depicts interactions with books on multiple levels within the setting of the English court, where she was a foreign-born queen conscious of the fragility of her position. Wilhelmine of Bayreuth was a prominent figure, a composer in her own right who was conscious of her dynastic ties and her connections as the daughter of Frederick William I of Prussia (1688-1740) and sister of Frederick the Great (1712-1786), whose marriage placed her at a less important court in Bayreuth. The primary focus of my investigation is Wilhelmine's memoir, which she wrote in the 1740s and which demonstrates her perception of written texts and the context in which they exist. Wilhelmine of Bayreuth's memoirs demonstrate her representations and awareness of textual interactions such as preservation and destruction, and the ways in which those interactions intersected with power and influence at court.

3.1 Caroline of Ansbach (1683-1737)

Caroline of Ansbach, the queen consort of George II of Great Britain (1683-1760), was born Wilhelmine Caroline Charlotte, the daughter of Johann Friedrich, the Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach (1654-1686) and Eleonore Erdmuth Luise, born the Duchess von Sachsen-Eisenach (1662-1696) and the second wife of Johann Friedrich (Figure 7).[1] Johann Friedrich died when Caroline was three, and she and her mother and younger brother Wilhelm Friedrich (1686-1723) moved to Dresden upon her mother's second marriage in 1692 to Johann Georg IV, the Saxon prince elector (1668-1694). After Johann Georg's death, mother and children moved to Eleonore Erdmuth's widow's residence in the castle in Pretzsch, in Saxony-Anhalt. Caroline's mother died two years later in 1696, at which point the thirteen-year-old Caroline was placed under the care of Sophie Charlotte (1668-1705), the daughter of Sophie of Hannover, at the court in Brandenburg-Prussia (later Prussia), where she lived with her husband, Friedrich I, King in Prussia (1657-1713). Leibniz met and later tutored Caroline of Ansbach when Sophie Charlotte was her guardian, suggesting books to her and instilling an interest in dynastic history with his research into the history of the Braunschweig dynasty. When Sophie Charlotte died in 1705, Caroline moved to her brother's court in Brandenburg-Ansbach until her marriage later that year to George II (1683-1760), the son of Sophie Charlotte's brother George I of Great Britain (1660-1727). After her marriage, Caroline continued to correspond with Leibniz until his death and to serve as a mediator for him with her husband in matters such as Leibniz' commission to write the history of the Braunschweig dynasty and his request for mediation in his dispute with Newton over which man was the true inventor of calculus.

[1] Johann Friedrich's first wife was Johanna Elisabeth, Markgräfin von Baden-Durlach (1651-1680).

Between 1707 and 1724, Caroline gave birth to eight children, of whom all but one outlived her. The years between 1714 and 1727 were turbulent ones, since as the wife of the Prince of Wales, the future king of Great Britain, and at the beginning of the still-controversial Hanoverian dynasty, Caroline's position was unstable. Her husband fought constantly with his parents, a pattern that would continue with Caroline's own eldest son Friederich (Prince of Wales and father of George III). After her husband ascended to the throne in 1727, Caroline's position became less turbulent on a personal level, but as a German-born British queen and consort to a German-born British king, there was a constant need to legitimize her position. Supporters of the Jacobite succession, who sought to return the Stuart line to the throne, still remained active in the circles of government. James Francis Edward Stuart (1688-1766), the son of James II who was known as the "Old Pretender," and his wife Maria Clementina Sobieska (1702-1735), the granddaughter of Jan Sobieski, the Polish King (1629-1698), were recognized as the legitimate rulers of Great Britain by Popes Clement XI and Innocent XIII, Louis XIV in France, Philip V in Spain, Duke Rainaldo II in Modena, and the Duchy of Savoy. Their eldest son Charles Edward Stuart (1720-1788), known as the "Young Pretender" and "Bonnie Prince Charlie," was actively recruiting for an uprising. Moreover, the tensions caused by the "Personal Union" in which George I and his successors were simultaneously kings of Great Britain and electoral princes in Hannover meant that George I and George II had to negotiate between two very different ruling situations. Much of the official business in Hannover was carried out via correspondence and the court there effectively remained dormant when the ruler was absent. The primacy of this textual monarchy is emphasized by the way in which the Hanoverian dynasty began. The 1701 Act of Settlement was a controversial act by the British Parliament that settled the line of succession on the Protestant Sophie of Hannover and eliminated the possibility of a

Catholic ruler. This act removed the closest heirs in the direct line of succession, James Stuart and his successors, in order to ensure that the British throne remained Protestant.

Caroline of Ansbach was an important consort for the Hanoverian dynasty. Caroline was portrayed by contemporaries such as Voltaire and Leibniz as a model of virtue and Protestant values, particularly after her refusal to marry Charles of Austria since she would have had to convert to Catholicism.[2] Her role in stabilizing the monarchy and presenting the royal family as respectable was valuable, particularly after the scandalous matter of George I's spouse Sophie Dorothea (1666-1726), whose love affair was used by some to call the paternity of George II into question.[3] When he assumed the British throne, George I was thrust into a situation for which he was in some ways ill-prepared. For example, he very conspicuously lacked an official consort since his wife and first cousin Sophie Dorothea was confined at the castle of Ahlden for the rest of her life after an incident known as the Königsmarck affair in which her alleged lover Philip Christoph von Königsmarck (1665-1694?) was reported to have been secretly murdered. As the new princess consort, Caroline was very aware of her duties. She was also conscious of the need to legitimate this new dynasty through its written sources, as evidenced by her constant communication with Leibniz on the subject of his work on the history of the Braunschweig line that had been commissioned by her husband. Her interest in textual documents found expression in her own collecting activities: Caroline of Ansbach has been described as an enthusiastic book collector.[4] Caroline's own personal library, formed after her ascension to the English throne, contained six sets of Leibniz' *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium* (3 volumes, 1707-1711), along

[2] Marschner, 132.

[3] Wilkins explores this issue.

[4] See Jay, note 5.

with many works on the genealogy of the German dynasties.[5] An inventory of her library was compiled in 1740 and is in the British Library.[6]

In Caroline's correspondence with Leibniz, books and literature form the foundation of their discussions.[7] Caroline's depictions of books and texts in her correspondence clearly demonstrate that she saw textual interaction as an appropriate sphere of activity for herself. Her stated concerns are with the contents of the texts with which she is engaged rather than with their appearances. The interest she displays in promoting and supporting the creation of texts is also pragmatic and deals with relevant issues to her role as the queen consort. She describes the creation, exchange, use, and preservation of documents as intertwined and connected rather than separate activities.

In her letters to Leibniz, Caroline mentions that she is reading the works of Locke, Pope's translation of Homer's *Ulysses*, sermons by Archbishop Tillotson;[8] Addison's *Cato*;[9] the works of Dr. Clarke;[10] and poetry by Corneille, Racine, Boileau, and Reynier.[11] Caroline comments on these works, her reaction to them, and their reception, such as when she discusses *Ulysses* and the way it is interpreted at court as a moralizing text: she states that there are those who believe it to be a moral rather than a text about a voyage ("Il y a des personnes icy, qui croient quen tout ce

[5] Hanham, 285.

[6] Hanham, 297, footnote 22.

[7]See Leibniz. I am using the 1884 edition of Leibniz' correspondence with Caroline. This edition appeared as a reprint in 1973 (Hildesheim: G. Olms). Gregory Brown, a professor in the Department of Philosophy at the University of Houston and the webmaster of the *Leibnitiana* online resource, is currently working on a new edition of the correspondence.

[8] Ansbach, Caroline of. Letter to G. W. Leibniz. St. James, 2/13 September 1715. Leibniz, 46-47.

[9] Ansbach, Caroline of. Letter to G. W. Leibniz. St. James, 3/14 November 1715. Leibniz, 49-51.

[10] Ansbach, Caroline of. Letter to G. W. Leibniz. St. James, 15/26 November 1715. Leibniz, 52-53.

[11] Ansbach, Caroline of. Letter to G. W. Leibniz. St. James, 15/26 November 1715. Leibniz, 52-53.

livre est plutôt une morale que des voyages").[12] Caroline uses literary figures and tropes to describe those around her, as in her description of Newton and his house as possessing an "air of Merlin about them."[13] She describes her particular admiration for Leibniz' *Théodicée* (1710) in numerous letters and in different contexts. In a reference to her conversation with the Bishop of Canterbury, Caroline reveals her pleasure that the bishop shares her enjoyment in reading and re-reading the work and supports the idea of a translation: "we are thinking of having it translated. I'm very proud to share the same sentiments as this noble gentleman who finds that the more one re-reads this book, the more one finds it incomparable. The preference which I have for this book reminds me of another bishop who said that he likes being admired by the biggest fools."[14] By relating this incident, Caroline is humorously disparaging her own excessive preference for the work while commenting on the reception of literary works in general. Caroline repeatedly expresses interest in sponsoring a translation of the *Théodicée* into English. Her attention to publishing the translation and making Leibniz' ideas available to an English-speaking public indicates that she appreciated the work on more than an individual level as a question of personal preference, and saw it as a valuable text for others to read–and it indicates that she sees herself as an appropriate judge of appropriate reading material and as a suitable person to undertake the sponsorship of a literary work. Leibniz, in a letter to the comte de Bonneval à Vienne (Hanover 21 Sept 1714), expresses his pleasure that his work has found favor with Caroline:

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[12] Ansbach, Caroline of. Letter to G. W. Leibniz. St. James, 3/14 November 1715. Leibniz, 50.

[13] Ansbach, Caroline of. Letter to G. W. Leibniz. St. James, 15/26 June 1716. Leibniz, 115.

[14] Ansbach, Caroline of. Letter to G. W. Leibniz. St. James, 30 December 1715/10 January 1716. Leibniz, 72. "Nous penserons à la faire traduire. Je suis toute glorieuse d'avoir les mêmes sentimens avec ce grand homme qui trouve que plus on relit ce livre, plus on le trouve incomparable. Le goût que j'ay pour ce livre, me fait souvenir d'un autre Evêque qui disoit aimer à ester admiré par les plus grands ignorans." Caroline continues by recounting her comment about this saying to the late Electress Sophie of Hanover: "Ainsi vous devez être très-content d'être admiré par une aussi grande ignorante que moy, mais la vérité frappe les ignorans comme les plus Savans, et c'est ce que j'ay pris la liberté de dire à feu Madame l'Electrice, qui prétendoit ne le pouvoir entendre."

> I am delighted to enjoy once more as much as I can the good favor of a princess so accomplished and so spiritual who all the same wants to converse with me (would you believe it?) about the Théodicée, which she has read more than once. It seems to me that I understand you, sir, to accuse me of vanity; but I declare that which I have just said is praise for the princess, and not for my work. For if it is ill-founded, it is always more that such a princess, surrounded by all of that which can distract the mind, gives so much attention to such matters as elevated as those with which my work deals.[15]

Leibniz specifically states his satisfaction--and flattered surprise ("would you believe it?")--that Caroline has read his work more than once and depicts this preference as a compliment to her, rather than to his work itself. Her patronage and good graces are clearly important to his personal fortunes; as the future queen of Great Britain, mediator between Leibniz and her husband, and as a potential replacement for the recently deceased Sophie of Hanover, who was another important patron for Leibniz, Caroline's support was valuable to Leibniz. He recognizes that she is a busy woman who must devote her time to many other important matters in a situation in which there are many other distractions. Yet his comments are directed at her preference for *his* work, rather than surprise at her involvement in literary activities in general. Leibniz expresses his pleasure that Caroline has taken an interest in the matters he discusses in the *Théodicée;* he does not appear to view her interest as inappropriate for her sphere in life.

Leibniz was also employed in writing a history of the Braunschweig dynasty for George II, and Caroline frequently reminds him of this obligation and asks for information about his

[15] Leibniz, G. W. Letter to the comte de Bonneval. Hanover, 21 September 1714. Leibniz, 14-15. "[J]e suis bien aise de jouir encore tant que je puis des bonnes grâces d'une princesse si accomplice et si spirituelle qui veut même repasser avec moy (le croiriés-vous?) sur la Théodicée qu'elle a lue plus d'une fois. Il me semble que je vous entends, Monsieur, m'accuser de vanité; mais je prétends que ce que je viens de dire est un éloge de la princesse, et non pas de mon ouvrage. Car quand il seroit mal-fondé, c'est toujours beaucoup qu'une telle princesse environnée de tout ce qui peut dissiper l'esprit, donne tant d'attention à des matières aussi relevées que celles que mon ouvrage traite."

progress in her letters to him. This work was an important document for the Hanoverian dynasty in Great Britain. As Leibniz himself explains in a letter to Bernstorf, his chronicle is essential to the history of the British Empire, and he suggested adding a section on the history of England.[16] The interest in portraying the Hanoverian rulers as legitimate successors to earlier rulers by emphasizing their dynastic roots is reflected in the contents of Caroline's library. Yet Caroline's admiration for Leibniz does not make her blindly partial to him, as seen in the dispute between Leibniz and Newton over the invention of calculus, or in the dispute between Leibniz and Clarke (who was defending Newton's position). In both cases, Caroline seeks to let the "facts" speak for themselves, in the form of written arguments and the exchange of papers. She even asks Leibniz what does it matter who invented calculus and chides the two "greatest men" of the era for fighting. [17]

Texts in the correspondence are important tools of exchange. Leibniz and Caroline repeatedly express their gratitude for sending books and texts, and discuss exchanging texts by means of other people, in ways that demonstrate their essential and important nature. Leibniz thanks Caroline for books she sent ("I'm just about to begin a letter to Your Royal Highness to thank you very humbly for the books which M. Oeynhausen brought me")[18] and Caroline is pleased that he has received them ("I am delighted that my books were pleasing to you.")[19]

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[16] Leibniz, G.W. Letter to Bernstorf. Hanover, 8 December 1714. Leibniz, 22-23. "Ainsi je puis dire que mes Annales de Bronsvic sont indispensablement en même temps des Annales de l'Empire."

[17] Ansbach, Caroline of. Letter to G. W. Leibniz. St. James, 15/26 June 1716. Leibniz, 115. "Qu'importe que vous ou le chevalier Newton ait trouvé le calcul? Vous êtes les grands hommes de notre siècle, et tous deux serviteurs d'un Roy qui vous mérite."

[18] Leibniz, G.W. Letter to the princess of Wales. [1715]. Leibniz, 58. "[J]'étois sur le point de commencer une letter à V.A.R. pour La remercier trés-humblement des livres que M. Oeynhausen m'a apportés."

[19] Ansbach, Caroline of. Letter to G. W. Leibniz. St. James, 30 December 1715/10 January 1716. Leibniz, 71. "Je suis bien aise que mes livres etoient agréablement recues de vous." The princess of Wales to Leibniz (St. James, 30 December 1715/10 January 1716), 71.

Caroline also describes her reading practices to Leibniz in many letters, including her sources for books and texts, what she thinks of them, and refers to future book shipments and previous letters: "I have the books from Halle, which are extremely good and some are exhilarating. I already told you in one of my letters that which concerns Dr. Clarke, and I will send you a little book with the post that comes."[20] This reading and textual exchange is directly relevant to both of their positions. Leibniz justifies his intellectual position as a writer and philosopher through his texts, which he portrays as internationally relevant and of particular interest to the court in London. At one point he cites "a French journalist in Holland" who describes the battle between Isaac Newton and Leibniz over the credit for the invention of calculus as a dispute between Germany and England.[21] Rather than remaining confined to an isolated literary circle, these works have the power to generate international conflicts, at least in the way they are portrayed.

For this reason, Leibniz also requests Caroline to evaluate carefully and to preserve the letters and other papers he entrusts to her. This literary battle is of great importance to him, and the written sources are the evidence on which he and his opponents are being judged: "I wish that Your Royal Highness would keep copies of that which one gives to him, and that which I am sending, in order to better judge them [...] I have glanced through the two books by Mr. Clarke or at least the greatest part of them, but it is necessary that I re-read them more carefully."[22] Having access to the works of his opponents in order to address their attacks and to refute their

[20] Ansbach, Caroline of. Letter to G. W. Leibniz. St. James, 15/26 May 1716. Leibniz, 113. "J'ay les livres de Halle, qui sont extrêmement bons et quelquesuns récréatifs. Je vous ay déjà dit dans une de mes lettres ce qui regarde Dr. Clarke, et je vous enverrai avec la poste qui vient un petit livre."

[21] Leibniz, G.W. Letter to the princess of Wales. Hanover, 10 May 1715. Leibniz, 38. "Un journaliste François écrivant en Hollande dit là-dessus qu'il sembloit que ce n'estoit pas tant une querelle entre M. Newton et moy, mais entre l'Allemagne et l'Angleterre."

[22] Leibniz, G.W. Letter to the princess of Wales. [1715?] Leibniz, 60. "Je souhaite que V.A.R. fasse garder des copies de ce qu'on luy donne, et de ce que j'envoye, pour en mieux juger [...] J'ay parcouru les deux livres de Mr. Clarke ou du moins la plus grande partie, mail il faut que je les relies avec plus d'attention."

arguments is essential to Leibniz. He sends her works to keep and preserve so that she may use them in later evaluations of other texts.

Caroline is more often the sender of these works, and Leibniz the recipient, in a relationship in which Caroline appears to be sending him works that she feels he should read or know. She comments on the works and has read them herself. She also frequently refers to letters and papers as a type of important documentary evidence. One mention of letters refers to their role in sending someone to prison;[23] there are references to the gazettes as sources of news and information; and she mentions that he should publish his letters and at one point asks him to return her letters. Leibniz also mentions the information provided by the Gazette in several letters, listing it as an additional source of knowledge about current events, which draws attention to its role in circles of information exchange for both women and men.

In one letter, Caroline writes that she is sending some verses by Corneille, Racine, Boileau, Reynier in English and French that she herself received from "Madame" (Liselotte), and asks Leibniz to send them on to Mademoiselle Pöllnitz when he is finished with them: "P.S. After having read the sonnet, would you send it to Mademoiselle Pollnitz" ("P.S. Après avoir lû le sonnet, voulez-vous l'envoyer à M^{lle} Pöllnitz?").[24] This exchange indicates that Caroline and Leibniz do not view the exchange of texts as a uniquely masculine phenomenon to which Caroline has been privileged to be included. An educated, upper-class or noble participant in the republic of letters can legitimately engage in textual interaction on all levels.

[23] Leibniz writes that the Baron de la Hontane "m'a raconté luy-même, qu'étant ami du Comte de Melgar, Amirante de Castille, qu'on voulut attirer au service de Bourbon sous prétexte de l'envoyer Ambassadeur en France, mais dans le dessein de le mettre en prison, il luy écrivit une lettre pour l'en avertir, et que cette lettre estant tombée enfin entre les mains du parti du Duc d'Anjou, il fut pris prisonnier et mené en France. Je me souviens que la gazette a parlé d'un Capucin mis en prison pour affaires d'état. Il est resté dans la bastille jusqu'à la paix, et alors il a été relaché" (Leibniz, G.W. Letter to the princess of Wales. Hanover , 11 September 1716. Leibniz, 184-185).

[24] Ansbach, Caroline of. Letter to G. W. Leibniz. St. James, 3/14 November 1715. Leibniz, 51.

This evaluation of the life of Caroline of Ansbach suggests that she did not see the activity of collecting, of interacting with texts, and of providing access to them, as exclusively masculine-oriented or gender-coded. She presents it as self-evident that the information contained in the texts is valuable and important to her in her position as the queen of Great Britain and ruler of Hannover, and to those around her. Leibniz and other "great men of science" need to have access to this information, and also her ladies-in-waiting and those who do not read French or German (as in the case of the translation of the *Théodicée*). She is not interested in hoarding information; there is a clear interest in making it available to others and providing access to sources she deems relevant. As Caroline makes clear in her remarks, she views the overarching purpose of these endeavors as more important than the individual egos of Leibniz and Newton and sees her role as furthering a greater cause. She is involved with and interested in the creation of texts, their exchange, their use, and the concept of ensuring their long-term preservation, and these activities are interrelated.

3.2 Wilhelmine of Bayreuth (1709-1758)

Wilhelmine Friederike Sophie von Bayreuth was the second child of the fourteen children of Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia (1688-1740), known as the "Soldier King," and Sophie Dorothea von Hannover (1687-1757)--who was the daughter of George I of England and his disgraced wife Sophie Dorothea--and the granddaughter of Sophie von Hannover. Her siblings included Friedrich II (1712-1786), known as Frederick the Great, and Ulrike Luise (1720-1782), queen of Sweden, and Anna Amalia, Princess of Prussia (1723-1787), who became the abbess of Quedlinburg Abbey in 1756. Anna Amalia was a composer and is known for her collection of music. Another sister, Philippine Charlotte (1716-1801), married Karl I of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1713-1780) and during her lifetime assembled a large private collection of over

4,000 books which became part of the Herzog August Bibliothek after her death.[25] Her mother Sophie Dorothea is also known to have had her own private library.[26]

In 1731 Wilhelmine married Friedrich III von Brandenburg-Bayreuth (1711-1763), and their only child was Elisabeth Friederike Sophie (1732-1780). Wilhelmine was very aware of her own position as the daughter of an important dynastic family and of the comparative obscurity of the house into which she married.

Around 1748 Wilhelmine began to write her memoirs in French. The manuscript passed into the ownership of Wilhelmine's personal doctor, Daniel de Superville (1696-1770), and after his death it began to circulate before its eventual publication.[27] Originally believed to be a falsification, the memoirs were believed to be authentic after the re-discovery of the original manuscript among Superville's papers in 1848. The memoirs were first published in French (in Braunschweig) and in a German translation (Tübingen) in 1810 and since those editions, there have been many new publications.[28] The first English translation appeared quite rapidly in 1812 (London: Coburn), indicating the great interest in these memoirs.

In addition to writing her significant memoirs, Wilhelmine was also active in other literary areas. She composed operas and wrote the text for others.[29] Her artistic works include the text to the opera *L'Homme* in 1754; two arias set to music by Andrea Bernasconi; "Concerto a cembalo obligato-duoi violini, violetta e basse" (1750) and the score to the opera "Argenore"

[25] See the information about the collection on the HAB website (http://www.hab.de/bibliothek/sammlungen/bestaende/fuerstenbib.htm)

[26] See Petersdorff.

[27] For information about de Superville, see Hoefer, 670.

[28] Woods and Fürstenwald list 35 editions (some translations) between the years 1810 and 1970.

[29] Woods and Fürstenwald, 11.

(the text was written by Andrea Galletti) in 1740; the text to *Almathea* "Singspiel in drei Aufzügen" (presented in Bayreuth in 1756).[30] For musicologists she serves as an interesting case study since she shared her brother's education and love of music, and both siblings enjoyed composing and playing music.

Wilhelmine and her husband were the founders of the University of Erlangen and contributed books from their library to found the university library. After her death, Wilhelmine Friderike's personal library collection, which consisted of over 4,000 leather bound volumes with her personal *ex libris*, was willed to the university library. The description of the history of the university library of Erlangen-Nürnberg in Bernhard Fabian's *Handbuch der historischen Bücherbestände in Deutschland* describes Wilhelmine Friederike as the primary supporter of the library, and it also outlines the conditions under which the library was founded:

> Hinter dem Gedanken an eine eigene Universität mit entsprechender Buchausstattung stand vor allem Markgräfin Wilhelmine Friederike Sophie (1709-1758), die ihre persönliche Büchersammlung testamentarisch der Universitätsbibliothek vermachte. In zwei Schenkungsurkunden gab das Markgrafenpaar sein Eigentum " ... als eine bibliotheca publica, wöchentlich an gewissen Tägen zu gesetzter Zeit eröffnet und den Gelehrten zu gebrauchen erlaubet seyn solle ... zum beständigen, unwiderrufflichen Eigenthum ... in ermeldter Academie Verwahrung ....[31]

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[30] Woods and Fürstenwald, 11.

[31] Fabian, vol. 11, 161.

There are many representations of Wilhelmine by her biographers. Early representations of Wilhelmine often focus on her relationship to her powerful brother. The first biography of Wilhelmine was written in 1902 by Richard Fester. (While biographies of Frederick the Great had begun to appear in the early nineteenth century, and these representations constantly shifted over time to reflect the needs and desires of those writing them, Wilhelmine as a figure of her own biography first appeared almost a century later with Fester's work.) While Fester published an article on Wilhelmine's book collection in 1900, there is little to indicate that he was particularly interested in re-evaluating women's libraries or indeed in the history of collecting. His representation and interest served a different purpose.[32] Fester writes that his goal is to perform a psychological evaluation of Wilhelmine's character[33] and of her motivations, in much the same way that similar evaluations have been performed for figures such as Machiavelli, Goethe, and Schiller.[34] His goal is to explore this noteworthy female figure ("eine Frau ergründen zu wollen"), whom he claims has previously been represented through her memoirs as a "Schandsäule," or a type of memorial that immortalizes the negative aspects of a person's reputation.[35] He writes that her character is on trial in her memoirs, stating that there will be a memorial in the place of the overturned column of shame ("Denkmal an Stelle der umgestürzten

[32] Richard Fester (1860-1945) also published a speech he gave on Sophie of Hanover, and he appears to have been influential in promoting Frederick the Great as a figure during the Nazi period in Germany, publishing works such as *Die Instruktion Friedrichs des Großen für seine Generale von 1747* (Berlin: Mittler & Sohn, 1936) and *Politisch-militärische Lehren des politischen Testaments Friedrichs des Grossen von 1768* (Berlin, 1927) and *Friedrich Wilhelm I., Friedrich der Große und die Anfänge deutscher Staatsgesinnung* (Cologne: Schaffstein, 1942). Fester wrote his dissertation in 1886 in Strassburg on "Die armirten Stände und die Reichskriegsverfassung" ("The armed classes and the Imperial War Constitution") and appears to have published on a variety of topics, include Bismarck, Machiavelli, and, disturbingly, on various issues such as the "Belgian question" and the Jews (*Das Judentum als Zersetzungselement der Völker: weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen* appeared in 1941).

[33] Fester, 19.

[34] Fester 1902, 19.

[35] Fester 1902, 17.

Schandsäule").[36] His work on Wilhelmine, which appears to have complemented his multiple publications about Frederick the Great, was more related to the scholarship about Frederick the Great than it was about Wilhelmine in her own right, and any attention he drew to her library was in relation to charting Frederick the Great's intellectual environment and influences rather than in investigating a previously underexplored topic of study. His interest in representing Wilhelmine was not a neutral one; as a close family member of Frederick the Great, the daughter of Friedrich Wilhelm I (known as the Soldier King), and as a member of the Prussian royal family, Wilhelmine was a useful figure to represent and to recapture.

In a 1971 "Lebensbild," Georg Hetzelein describes the life of Wilhelmine primarily through excerpts from the letters and from her memoirs, using extracts to illustrate his depiction. The excerpts are uncritically used and Hetzelein takes them at face value, assuming a great deal about the nature of the letters and memoirs and their possible audiences. Wilhelmine is portrayed as a figure heavily influenced by literary sources who "lives" among them: Hetzelein writes, for example, that owing to her participation in the opening of the Friedrichs Akademie in Erlangen, Wilhelmine was honored with the title of "Bayreuther Pallas."[37] In a different context, her husband received the title "Bayreuther Justinian" because of his collection of legal texts (*Landesgesetzte*).[38] Her pleasure garden Sanspareil is, according to Hetzelein, modeled entirely on the novel *Telemaque* by Fenelon: specifically, the island inhabited by the sorceress Calypso is

[36] Fester 1902, 22.

[37] Hetzelein, 41.

[38] Hetzelein, 42.

recreated.[39] This depiction of Wilhelmine portrays her as an avid reader who creates her own fantasy world out of books.

Many works that address the subject of Frederick the Great deal with Wilhelmine, if only in a peripheral manner. In Giles MacDonogh's *Frederick the Great: A Life in Deed and Letters* (1999), he claims to be able to sort through the various "imposters" created by various time periods in order to find the "real" Frederick the Great. The first of these "pretenders" began with "Voltaire's scurrilous portrait" and the "suspect accounts written by his sister Wilhelmina and by the courtier Pöllnitz"; the next appeared as a result of the search for a German national identity as a reaction to the Napoleonic invasions and emphasized his "Germanic" nature rather than his "suspicious sexuality" and his love for champagne; the British created a "Protestant king"; after 1871, Frederick "became the precursor of Prusso-German militarism"; and under the Nazis he joined the "German Trinity of Frederick, Bismarck and Hitler."[40] MacDonogh claims that the "real Frederick" is now making a comeback.[41] He refers to one of Frederick's close acquaintances, Heinrich von Catt, who writes that Wilhelmine was the impetus for Frederick's love of books, which then turned into an "addiction."[42] It is interesting that Wilhelmine is given the credit for Frederick's lifelong love of books here, by a narrator who otherwise views her literary activities with skepticism and distrust.

In their articles in a volume dealing with the "kulturelle Erbe" of Wilhelmine of Bayreuth, Daniela Harbeck-Barthel and Gisela Schlüter use Wilhelmine's own words as a means to interpret her emotional connection to her library. They cite passages in which Wilhelmine

[39] Hetzelein, 42.

[40] MacDonogh, 3-5.

[41] MacDonogh, 8-9.

[42] See Kloser, 71. MacDonogh's discussion is on page 33.

portrays her own passion for books as foolishness or "Narrheit" in order to examine the "meaning of the Margravine's passion for reading and her understanding of history for the creation of her library" ("Bedeutung von Leseleidenschaft und Geschichtsverständnis der Markgräfin für die Anschaffung ihrer Bibliothek"), meaning that by examining her memoirs and her letters for places in which she refers to her books and her collections, they seek to understand her motivations and her relationship with her library.[43] Harbeck-Barthel and Schlüter note that in its importance, Wilhelmine's collection has been compared to that of the Duchess Anna Amalia in Weimar.[44] The major question for them, however, is whether Wilhelmine's library was a typical princely library for the purpose of representation (eine "Repräsentationsbibliothek") or if it was actually intended for use ("eine echte Gebrauchsbibliothek").[45] These are the two possibilities presented in this article exploring Wilhelmine's motivations for collecting. The answer they uncover is that while Wilhelmine's library undoubtedly served representative functions, it was primarily a library to be used and was depicted as such by Wilhelmine. Wilhelmine described her books as "pastime and pleasure but also a diversion, a source of assistance and therapy; books served equally as purveyors of information and instruments of education as well as a replacement for intellectual society" ("Zeitvertreib und Genuss, aber auch Ablenkung, Hilfestellung und Therapie; Bücher dienten genauso als Informationsträger und Bildungsinstrument wie als Ersatz für geistreiche Gesellschaft").[46] For them, the library is primarily a diversion, a form of therapy, rather than a valid instrument.

[43] Harbeck and Schlüter, 151.

[44] Harbeck and Schlüter, 151.

[45] Harbeck and Schlüter, 154.

[46] Harbeck and Schlüter, 154.

In noting that the "research in library science measures the value of a book collection according to criteria such as size, holdings, display, visual appearance and includes the ordering system along with reception-historical questions about the active role of the owner in the creation and selection of works as well as his reading habits," Harbeck and Schlüter also bring into play questions of value that are used to evaluate collections.[47] These are all valid criteria for evaluating a collection, but the survival of a collection often is decided by other factors.

Using her memoirs as the primary focus of this investigation provides us with a mirror into Wilhelmine's own deliberate representation of her life. In her memoirs, Wilhelmine demonstrates that she is aware of the ways in which gender is represented, both on an individual and on a broad and universal level, and aware of the importance of access to and ownership of texts and other documents. Text ownership and the ability to interpret texts correctly is not ascribed to one gender over the other; it is a positive characteristic that is linked to importance, to prestige, to economic and social power and resources, to power and influence at court. In the world Wilhelmine portrays, access to books and texts are of paramount importance. The role of one who engages with texts diverges from the modern identity of a book collector, which is linked to hobby activities, to luxury goods, to the display of wealth and fortune. While the aspect of display undoubtedly played a role in noble book collections, Wilhelmine's descriptions relate to the entire spectrum of textual interaction, from creation, exchange and acquisition, use, to preservation and destruction. Books and access to texts are important for their contents. Authenticity and provenance are vital qualities.

[47] Harbeck and Schlüter, 151. "[B]ibliothekswissenschaftliche Forschung misst den Wert einer Büchersammlung nach Kriterien wie Größe, Bestand, Aufstellung und Optik und bezieht das Ordnungssystem genauso mit ein wie rezeptionsgeschichtliche Fragen nach einer aktiven Rolle des Besitzers bei der Anschaffung und Auswahl der Werke sowie nach seinem Leseverhalten."

Rather than presenting books as rare objects, Wilhelmine depicts them as widely available. Her father-in-law is portrayed as an exception because he is able to discuss only two works in detail, which Wilhelmine mentions to illustrate his uneducated nature. But as backward as she finds the Brandenburg-Bayreuth court to be, there is no suggestion that they could not afford books. Perhaps related to the wider availability of books, there is not the perception that they are rare, and thus the rarer handwritten and unprinted documents are those that are explicitly mentioned in the memoirs as being curated, collected, destroyed, and fought over.

In her memoirs, Wilhelmine explicitly thematizes gender, both on an individual and on a broader level. Wilhelmine identifies herself as a member of the larger group of the female gender when she relates a conflict with her husband: "Ich bin heftig; ich kann mich bis zu einem gewissen Punkt mäßigen; aber ich bin eine Frau und ich habe meine Schwächen wie alle anderen: Ich zerstritt mich bis zum Äußersten mit meinem Gatten."[48] While all women have their "weaknesses," the implication here is that fighting with one's husband approaches some sort of boundary of inappropriate behavior. That Wilhelmine fights "to the limit" ("bis zum Äußersten") with her husband indicates that she is well aware of the borders and boundaries of inappropriate behavior for herself and for those around her. She is quick to discuss and to draw attention to inappropriate behavior, both in herself and in others; her ideas of inappropriate behavior for women are linked to issues of manners, dress, behavior in company, and sexual relationships, rather than to women and their interactions with texts.

Wilhelmine is aware of the ways in which women as a whole are portrayed, which is demonstrated when she describes her father's opinions and behavior towards women, particularly his own wife. The king is depicted as unambivalently negative in his opinion of all

[48]Berger, 324.

women.[49] He is misogynistic because he has been raised to have contempt for all women, which Wilhelmine portrays as a deliberate value encouraged by those who educated him.[50] Wilhelmine depicts this prejudice as unreasonable and deeply problematic because it affects the business of the state as well as wreaking havoc in the family. Although the king loves his wife, he feels that he must treat her badly and isolate her from matters of state because he has been taught to fear female dominance: if women are not kept under control, they will gain the upper hand.[51] This fear that women will take over all spheres of activity is portrayed as unfounded, as is shown when Wilhelmine defends herself by calling upon the conventions that prevent women from taking part in imperial tribunals (*Reichsaffäre*). When threatened with this type of legal proceeding, she openly mocks her assailant by drawing attention to the novelty of what he is proposing: "Ich brach in lautes Lachen aus. 'Eine Reichsaffäre,' antwortete ich ihm, 'na gut, umso besser! Damen waren da noch nie involviert, das wird etwas ganz Neues werden."[52] There are not equal rights for women and men, but there are proper spheres of activity for both genders in the networks of power and information. Wilhelmine notes where these appropriate positions exist, and where they do not, in her comments on the novelty of an imperial tribunal involving women.

[49] Berger, 72. "Die schlechte Meinung, die der König, mein Vater, vom weiblichen Geschlecht hatte."

[50] Berger, 5. "Sein Erzieher hatte darauf Wert gelegt, ihm Verachtung für das andere Geschlecht einzuflößen. Er hatte eine so schlechte Meinung von allen Frauen, dass seine Vorurteile der Kronprinzessin, auf die er in höchstem Maße eifersüchtig war, großen Kummer bereiteten."

[51]Berger, 9. "Doch obwohl der König sie [die Königin] leidenschatlich liebte, behandelte er sie dennoch schlecht und ließ sie in keiner Weise an den Staatsgeschäften teilhaben. Er ging so mit ihr um, weil man, wie er zu sagen pflegte, die Frauen unter der Fuchtel halten müsse, sonst tanzten sie ihren Männern auf der Nase herum."

[52] Berger, 330.

In these passages, Wilhelmine identifies gender as a category of identification. Women are different from men, yet while they have different duties and concerns, roles and responsibilities, they are both present and they both interact with each other in important matters. Wilhelmine's depiction of women as a category makes clear that there are certain clear expectations for the women in her social milieu, including propriety in apparel and in sexual matters, the ability to converse intelligently in mixed company, an understanding of court etiquette and hierarchy, loyalty to one's husband and family, and an awareness of what is and what is not considered acceptable behavior. The women she knows are not directly involved in "Reichsaffäre," in legal proceedings (such as those against her brother), in executions, and in many matters of state. Yet the acceptable actions for early modern women include writing books, as Wilhelmine demonstrates both through her own act and through the memoirs she owns and reads. In Wilhelmine's representations on these various levels (of Wilhelmine herself, of her memoirs, and of her gender as a whole and on an individual level), the interaction with texts, and with books and collecting and preserving and curating them, is not portrayed as a gendered activity. The individual or collective mentions that are negative consist of behavioral issues that negatively affect the individual woman's reputation and reflect poorly upon her family (women who are promiscuous, tongue-tied in company, drunken, openly dominant over their husbands, and so on). Negotiating, compromising, even conflicting, with others (men as well as women) is presented as a necessary skill in court life, however. A part of these tactics concern the ownership and guardianship of documents and texts. Women and men who cannot properly administer the documents entrusted to them, who misread them, who create faulty texts, or who behave foolishly by trusting the wrong people, are negatively portrayed; women and men who

are discrete, discerning in their decisions about whom to entrust with important papers, and tactically wise, are depicted as successful.

Wilhelmine constructs textual interactions on multiple levels. She is aware of the fragile nature of texts and of the importance of their preservation and survival. Wilhelmine repeatedly calls attention to the nature of her memoirs as a text, one that is grounded in a specific context. She is aware not only of the potential reader, but also of the problem of textual preservation and of the decisions surrounding its preservation and dissemination for which she herself is responsible. One of those important decisions is what will happen to her copy (which she notes is the only one in existence since she is not expecting it to be printed): "I have perhaps occupied myself too long with these [memoirs], but I write to divert myself and do not expect that these memoirs will ever be printed. Maybe I will even make a sacrifice of them to Vulcan, maybe I will give them to my daughter; in short: in this matter I am a follower of Pyrrho." ("Ich habe mich vielleicht allzu lange damit aufgehalten, doch ich schreibe zu meiner Unterhaltung und rechne nicht damit, dass diese Memoiren jemals gedruckt werden. Vielleicht mache ich sogar daraus ein Opfer an Vulcanus, vielleicht gebe ich sie meiner Tochter, kurz: In der Sache bin ich Anhängerin Pyrrhons.")[53] Wilhelmine discusses the future of her memoirs, which she might burn or give to her daughter, by identifying herself as a "pyrrhonienne" or "Pyrrhonist." By "Pyrrhonist," she is referring to the followers of the Greek philosopher Pyrrho (c. 360-270 BC), whose teachings were later interpreted as the idea that human senses cannot perceive the reality of the world, that this inaccuracy of perception means that humans cannot make accurate claims

[53] Berger, 343. The 1810 French translation reads "Je me suis peut-être trop long-temps étendue là-dessus, mai j'écris pour me diverter et ne compte pas que ces mémoires seront jamais imprimés; peut-être même que j'en ferai un jour un sacrifice à Vulcain, peut-être les donnerai-je à ma fille, enfin je suis pyrrhonienne là-dessus. Je le répète encore, je n'écris que pour m'amuser, et je me fais un plaisir de ne rien cacher de tout ce qui m'est arrivé, pas même mes plus secrètes pensées." (1810, 258).

about the ways in which the world functions, and thus humans should strive for the "tranquility or "freedom from disturbance" (*ataraxia*)" that results from abandoning the conception of the world as a place that can be understood. Pyrrho's "idea that the goal of human life is properly characterized as freedom from disturbance" formed the foundation of skepticism.[54] The Pyrrhonist attitude described in Wilhelmine's memoirs about her memoirs refers to an acceptance of the inevitability of the loss of control and the possibility of oblivion. When she writes that she may burn her memoirs, or give them to her daughter, and that they are only for her amusement, it shows that she is aware of their context and of their future, however "Pyrrhonist" she shows herself in her acceptance that she cannot influence it after her death.

The preservation of another important document is mentioned, almost in passing, when Wilhelmine describes her visit in Frankfurt with a tour of its attractions, including the Golden Bull of the Emperor Charles IV (1356).[55] This document was issued in order to codify certain rights and responsibilities of the electoral princes, and it was an important document for the territories of Saxony, Brandenburg, Bavaria, and the Palatinate in light of the disputes over the electorship.[56] As a member of the dynastic line, Wilhelmine also visits the rooms in which the emperor is crowned and various ceremonies take place. She abbreviates her account by referring to other texts: "since all of this has been described in detail in many books, I will pass over it in

[54] See Powers.

[55] Berger, 357. "Ich kam sehr spät in Frankfurt an [...]. Weil es mir nicht allzu gut ging, hielt ich mich einen Tag dort auf, an dem ich alle Sehenswürdigkeiten besichtigte; das heißt, den Römer, den Saal, an dem die Kaiser am Tag ihrer Krönung speisen. Neben diesem Saal gibt es weitere Zimmer, wo man die Goldene Bulle aufbewahrt, die man mir zeigte. Von dort ging ich zur großen Kirche, wo gewöhnlich die Kaiserkrönungen stattfinden. Man zeigte mir den Ort, wo das Konklave der Kurfürsten am Tag der Kaiserkür abgehalten wird. Da das alles aber in mehreren Büchern detailliert beschrieben wird, übergehe ich es mit Stillschweigen."

[56] According to the Yale Law Library's *Avalon Project*, the Golden Bulle "distinctly defines to whom the electoral rights belong. There had been no doubt about the three archbishoprics or about Bohemia, but disputes had arisen between rival lines both in Saxony and Brandenburg, and the seventh vote was claimed alike by Bavaria and by the Palatinate." (http://avalon.law.yale.edu/medieval/golden.asp)

silence." Since the details of what she has seen have been written in other texts, presumably those which her reader will also have read, Wilhelmine does not need to repeat their description. The importance of preserving the Golden Bulle, and of its interest as an authentic document, is unquestioned, and Wilhelmine does not need to explain to her reader why she would view the document.

Possession of and interaction with documents is an essential part of the events she depicts; for both men and women these interactions are very important for their status -- but are not only explainable as a function of that status. In several instances, Wilhelmine mentions figures whose interactions with texts and documents are noteworthy precisely because they demonstrate a failure to read, or an inability to understand that which one has read. Her father-in-law, Georg Friedrich Karl, Margrave von Brandenburg-Bayreuth (1688-1735) is described as extremely boring when he discusses literature: he can only talk about two books, Fenelon's *Telemaque* (1699) and Amelot de la Houssaye's *Römische Geschichte,* since they are the only books he has read. When he does talk about them, Wilhelmine compares him to a book of old sermons to be read aloud as an aid to falling asleep.[57] The Margrave is exceptionally limited in his scope of reading, as Wilhelmine portrays him here, and this narrow perspective puts him at a distinct disadvantage because he is unable to carry on a conversation about literature. He can only drone on about these two works, the only ones in his repertoire of literary topics, which proves his lack of education. Another example of a person who is unable to properly understand and discuss what he has read, the Major von Keyserlingk, who was one of her brother Frederick's officers in his company, is "honorable, but impulsive and gossipy; he pretended to be a *bel-esprit* [witty,

[57] Berger, 208. "Der einzige Gesprächstoff waren der Telemach und die Römische Geschichte von Amelot de la Houssaye, die einzigen Bücher, die er gelesen hatte; und so wusste er sie auch auswendig wie die Priester ihr Brevier. Der gute Fürst war kein großer Redner; seine Art zu reden war mit alten Predigten vergleichbar, die man sich zum Einschlafen vorlesen lässt."

creative person] but was just a walking library" ("höchst ehrenwert, doch unbesonnen und geschwätzig; er spielte den Schöngeist und war doch nur eine wandelnde Bibliothek.")[58] The Major, unlike the Margrave, has read widely, which has had the unfortunate opposite effect of turning him into a bore. The Major is a walking library because he mistakes information for knowledge; he possesses a large amount of information but he cannot understand and digest it properly. The Margrave has the problem of having access to too few books; the Major, too many. Both men suffer in Wilhelmine's evaluation because they have failed in their interactions with texts.

Wilhelmine is very aware of the issues surrounding textual survival and how texts are transmitted. In her memoirs, she repeatedly discusses the authenticity of texts, including calling them into question. In one episode, she describes in detail how she and her mother remove and destroy over 1500 incriminating letters from a sealed box, fabricate 600-700 letters over the course of three days, and replace them and reseal the box (130-133). These letters were written by Wilhelmine and her mother to her brother, Friedrich the Great, and contain "the most important secrets" of the "intrigues with England," details about faked illnesses, and include as well scandalous mockery of the king.[59] Wilhelmine defends her indiscretions and "disrespectful" references to her father in her letters by claiming that her mother has set the example for her to follow.[60] Once her brother has been imprisoned for his escape attempt, his friend and co-conspirator Hans Hermann von Katte has possession of these dangerous letters; his rooms are

[58] Berger, 90.

[59] Berger, 132. "Die Königin fand Gefallen an unseren Spötteleien und setzte den unseren noch eins drauf; ihre Briefe wie auch die meinen waren voll davon. Sie enthielten darüber hinaus im Detail alle Intrigen mit England, die vorgetäuschte Krankheit vom Winter des letzten Jahres mit dem Ziel Zeit zu gewinnen, mit einem Wort: die wichtigsten Geheimnisse."

[60] Berger, 132. "Die Königin fand Gefallen an unseren Spötteleien und setzte den unseren noch eins drauf; ihre Briefe wie auch die meinen waren voll davon."

searched and the letters are placed in sealed boxes so that they may be securely brought to the king. Wilhelmine and her mother are secretly sent one of these sealed boxes -- the box is brought to one of the ladies-in-waiting, the Countess Finck, by several mysterious masked men one evening, and although they suspect a trap, they manage to sneak the box into Wilhelmine's mother's chambers.[61] Wilhelmine then manages to remove the seal without breaking it, and Wilhelmine and her mother then quickly forge the large number of letters that they use to replace the incriminating ones, which they burn. Their subterfuge is successful; the king and his advisors are deceived by the fake letters.

Yet despite their potentially damaging contents, and the questionable light in which it places her, Wilhelmine cannot let the letters completely disappear. She immortalizes them in her memoirs by describing them, along with the letters from other people that are also in the box and are also destroyed ("Es gab Briefe einer Unzahl von Leuten; Liebesbriefe, moralische Reflexionen, Anmerkungen zur Geschichte, deren Verfasser mein Bruder war").[62] Wilhelmine even cites a passage from one of the letters that would have been the most damaging for her brother. The letter is dated May of 1730 and Wilhelmine cites six sentences from it word-for-word ("mit folgendem Wortlaut").[63] In these sentences, her brother discusses his escape plan, including his planned route and the fake name he will use. However unlikely that Wilhelmine would have copied and preserved this incriminating passage in such a perilous situation, she seeks to give the impression that it has survived in her recollection. The letter, although destroyed, exists in Wilhelmine's memoir, which replaces it by serving the function of memory.

[61] Berger, 130-131.

[62] Berger, 132.

[63] Berger, 132.

Even in situations in which the letters represent a significant danger, however, Wilhelmine still describes her reluctance to destroy them: one secret letter from her brother, "written in pencil," and sent via a mysterious stranger, is "sorgfältig aufbewahrt" by Wilhelmine (146). Another (111) is indiscreetly given to Wilhelmine in public by Katte; she gives the letter to one of her most trusted women, Fräulein Meermann, and gives her very specific instructions about her responsibility to safeguard it, even from Wilhelmine herself.[64] Rather than automatically destroying a letter she clearly recognizes to be dangerous to all concerned, she is intent on preserving it. Her reasons for keeping it are difficult to understand if she is only concerned with the sentimental aspect of preserving correspondence from a much-beloved brother, since, as she relates earlier in her memoirs, their correspondence was very numerous. One purpose of preserving this letter, and of mentioning it in her memoirs, is to demonstrate the closeness of her relationship to her brother, who is now the ruler.

In the memoirs, both women and men are involved in all aspects of textual interaction, from the creation, exchange, and use to the preservation and destruction of documents. One situation, which Wilhelmine describes over numerous pages, is an incident involving her father's will, a copy (in fact, the only copy made of the original) of which is given to her mother for safekeeping and which becomes the center of conspiracy and intrigue. The king is suffering from an illness and makes a will in which the queen is named as the regent; the queen is given a copy, which she is responsible for protecting and preserving. Wilhelmine is very specific in her description of the situation: the queen received the transcription and the original was put in the

[64] Wilhelmine writes that she gave very specific instructions to Fräulein Meermann: she "trug ihr auf, mir diesen Brief auf keinen Fall zu schicken, selbst wenn ich dreißig Boten schickte, um ihn zu holen, sie sollte sagen, nachdem die scheinbar ausgiebig danach gesucht hatte, sie müsse ihn aus Versehen zusammen mit anderem Papier, das sie ins Feuer geworfen habe, verbrannt haben" (Berger, 111-112).

Berlin archive.[65] This document contains valuable information, in the form of who is to be listed as the heirs and there is a huge power struggle over its contents. There are others at court who eagerly seek this information and who soon find out, to their disappointment, that the queen is in possession of this important document.[66] The text is more than a piece of paper, since for these enemies of the queen, in addition to increasing their own personal power and influence, gaining possession of the actual physical document, as well as knowledge of its contents, is a way to create a division between the king and the queen.[67] The queen is ultimately undone by one of her trusted ladies-in-waiting, Frau von Blaspiel, who is in love with the wrong man, and who manages to convince the queen to trust her with the will, which is then delivered into the hands of the queen's enemies.[68] After a lengthy and suspenseful intrigue, the queen is saved. The Marshall von Natzmer ultimately ensures that the queen is protected by secretly removing the will from the papers of Frau von Blaspiel after her chambers have been sealed because she has been arrested and threatened with torture.[69] Women and men are both competing for ownership of this document. The problem with this incident is, according to Wilhelmine, that the queen, who is the legitimate owner, trusted the wrong people and foolishly let the will leave her

[65] Berger, 17. "Die Königin erhielt die Abschrift und das Original wurde in die Berliner Archive gebracht."

[66] Berger, 17. "Die Geheimniskrämerei, die man darum veranstaltete, ließ sie auf die Wahrheit der Sache schließen, zumal sie erfuhren, dass die Kopie dieser Akte der Königin übergeben worden war. Das war ein vernichtender Schlag für sie."

[67] Berger, 18. "Ihre Schläue ließ sie Mittel und Wege finden, den Inhalt dieses für sie wichtigen Aktenstückes zu erfahren und es den Händen der Königin womöglich zu entwinden; sie hatten keinen Zweifel, dass sie, wenn ihnen dies gelänge, es schaffen würden, das Testament kassieren zu lassen, den König und die Königin völlig zu entzweien und ihre Pläne in die Tat umzusetzen."

[68] Berger, 19. "spielte sie derart verschiedene Rollen, dass sie es am Ende schaffte, sie zu überreden, ihr das verhängnisvolle Schriftstück anzuverstrauen – unter die Bedingung immerhim, es ihr nach der Lektüre zurückzugeben [...] Kaum sah sich Graf Manteuffel im Besitz des Testaments, fertigte er eine Abschrift davon an, die er Grumbkow übergab."

[69] Berger, 24.

possession. Thus, this incident illustrates the queen's personal weakness rather than the possible inappropriateness of women in possession of important documents.

Wilhelmine frequently uses literary shorthand to make a statement, and to convey information, about a particular individual or situation. Those who do not have access to the source texts or the educational background necessary to understand them will not be able to understand her references. The texts and people themselves are directly compared, in order to illustrate certain aspects or to illuminate character depictions. In order to understand these allusions, to make sense of the connections, and to interpret this information correctly, the reader of these memoirs must possess this knowledge or access to it. The assumption therefore is that the reader is privileged to have access (or have had the appropriate education) to the texts Wilhelmine mentions. An additional assumption is also that the reader might never encounter the people and courts described as Wilhelmine herself has experienced them, and therefore Wilhelmine is preserving this knowledge. The character studies she provides are meant to be understood by those who will have access to the literary counterparts. At one point, Wilhelmine directly states that she uses one text, the picaresque novel *Roman comique* (1649-1657) by Paul Scarron (c. 1610-1660) in order to depict, and to represent the character of, figures at court: "Ich erinnere mich, dass wir bei der Lektüre von Scarrons *Roman comique* auf eine recht lustige Anwendung auf die kaiserliche Clique kamen: Grumbkow nannten wir La Rancune, Seckendorff La Rappinière, den Markgrafen von Schwedt Saldagne und den König Ragotin."[70] Scarron's *Roman comique* is considered his masterpiece and deals with the allegedly realistic and amusing adventures of a traveling group of actors.[71] Knowledge of the novel is necessary to understand

[70] Berger, 90.

[71] Paul Scarron was the first husband of Françoise d'Aubigné, who later became Madame de Maintenon, whose memoirs were very well-known during this period (see Scarron.)

these depictions: the character of Ragotin, for example, is a deformed dwarf who falls in love with one of the other characters and is mocked relentlessly for it--hardly a flattering depiction for a king.

Wilhelmine's sister-in-law, Elisabeth Christine of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1715-1797), who married Frederick the Great in 1733, also appears in the memoirs as a figure from literature. Elisabeth Christine is introduced to Wilhelmine and is described as passably attractive but naive and completely unskilled in conversation and behavior.[72] Elisabeth Christine is compared to the naive and ignorant Agnes from Moliére's comedy *L'École des Femmes* (first performed in 1662), a text with which most would have been familiar.[73] Elisabeth Christine's behavior is clearly unsatisfactory, which Wilhelmine illustrates through a figure that would have been widely familiar to those in her social context. Agnes from *L'École des Femmes* is the unfortunate ward of Arnolphe, who prefers stupid women and deliberately decides to educate Agnes poorly so that he can marry her and she will never be unfaithful. Using the shorthand reference to Agnes allows Wilhelmine to encode Elisabeth Christine for her reader as a naive and unsophisticated girl.

When Wilhelmine of Bayreuth proudly describes how she and her mother forged hundreds of her brother's letters in order to save his life, there is a clear power struggle within her family, but there is no sense of illegitimate female trespass into a specifically "masculine" realm of texts or politics. When Caroline of Ansbach writes to Leibniz, she may refer to other ways in which men and women are different from one other, but she clearly views her own

[72] Berger, 268. "Sie hat weder Umgangsformen noch das kleinste bisschen Benehmen, große Schwierigkeiten, zu sprechen und sich verständlich zu machen, und man war gezwungen zu raten, was sie sagen wollte, was sehr lästig war. [...] Sie blieb wie eine Statue, ohne ein Wort zu uns zu sagen. [...] Sie machte schließlich einen Knicks nach dem Vorbild der Agnès in der Ecole des femmes."

[73] Berger, 268.

activities as appropriate when she is discussing literature, critically analyzing his works, sending him books and texts, and asking him to send texts to her or to other people. There is no firm gender divide present in these representations of textual interactions with the texts they describe. These women are acting entirely within the social norms expected of them. Texts and collections lack gender: the most important factor is who has access to and possession of the text, and collecting is one way among many of interacting with texts in the entire lifecycle of information.

Wilhelmine of Bayreuth and Caroline of Ansbach both describe texts and books as vital to their roles as royal women. They portray books and texts as components of the environment in which power and influence can be gained, rather than as luxury objects or an amusement for idle hours. The sources in which they write these representations also serve to prove that they are members of intellectual circles and provide a way to continue to pass on useful information. All four women, Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie of Sachsen-Meiningen, Elisabeth Sophie Marie of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Caroline of Ansbach, and Wilhelmine of Bayreuth, were firmly situated in dynastic networks of communication and exchange and therefore aware of the value of the information they possessed. This information gained meaning through the ways in which they interacted with it, and all four women demonstrate the need to preserve it and pass it on. In the world in which they lived, women and texts were companions rather than antagonists. Not only do they recognize that texts and books represent an important source of power and influence, they openly refer to the way texts and books are created, used, distributed, preserved, and potentially abused. Their documents, their collections, and their understanding of their own textual interactions reflect their individual identities, their own interests and personal requirements, within the larger context of their lives.

CHAPTER FOUR: SOPHIE OF HANOVER (1630-1714), CASE STUDY OF AN EARLY MODERN BOOK COLLECTOR

Sophie of Hanover (1630-1714) was a culturally influential figure not only because of her position linking the Electorate of Hanover with the British monarchy, but also in her role as the creator of "a family dynasty of female intellectuals."[1] She was linked to England, France, Prussia, and the Palatinate, with one of the most vibrant courts of the German empire in Heidelberg and culturally-active courts in exile at the Hague (Figure 8). She was directly influential in educating and nurturing other intellectual women in her circle, such as her daughter Sophie Charlotte of Prussia (1668-1705) and her granddaughter-in-law Caroline of Ansbach (1683-1737), wife of George II of Great Britain (1683-1760), and her example no doubt influenced other women known for their intellectual activity, including her granddaughter Sophie Dorothea (1687-1757), the wife of Friedrich Wilhelm I (1688-1740), the "Soldier King" and King of Prussia in 1713; her great-granddaughters Wilhelmine of Bayreuth (1709-1758); Anna Amalia of Prussia (1723-1787), abbess of Quedlinburg; Philippine Charlotte of Braunschweig (1716-1801); and her great-great-granddaughter Anna Amalia of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, married Sachsen-Weimar (1739-1807).[2]

As the youngest daughter of Elizabeth Stuart and Frederick V, Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia, later known as the Winter King, a granddaughter of King James I and Anna of Denmark, the wife of the German Elector Ernst August, and the mother of King George I of Great Britain, Sophie of Hanover was a pivotal figure in the broader context of European history. Her correspondence with family members and important cultural figures such as Leibniz has

[1] Johns, 179.

[2] Johns, 180.

served as an importance source for much information about this period in European history. For this reason, she has been discussed in many works, such as funeral sermons,[3] political reports,[4] historical works,[5] scholarly and popular biographies,[6] and fictionalized accounts.[7] The literature on Sophie of Hannover emphasizes different aspects of her life, such as her role in the matrilineal descent of the English succession[8] and her personal relationships with family members and acquaintances. Studies often focus on her interactions with learned men such as Leibniz and her role as a "muse" rather than as an intellectual woman.[9] Her position as a noble woman and her connections with other influential women of the period has drawn critical attention.[10] Her own intellectual role has also gained more attention in recent years, with articles focusing on her scholarly accomplishments in their own right.[11]

Sophie is known to have taken pride in her own intellectual achievements. She repeatedly represented herself not as a muse and a woman who existed in the shadow of important men, but as an independent, learned, and knowledgeable woman. Indeed, one contemporary account portrays her as self-reflexively framing herself as a type of book: "she was wonderfully vers'd in the genealogies of Families, not only in Great Britain, but almost every where, and that she us'd

[3] See Cramer and Knaggs.

[4] See Toland.

[5] See Rait and Ward.

[6] See Knoop, Kroll, and Baily.

[7] See, for example, Wilkins.

[8] See Thackeray.

[9] See, for example, Feder, who emphasizes Leibniz' accomplishments more than Sophie's and who states that the idea to write a book about Sophie came from her correspondence with Leibniz (Foreword, ix). See also Hartbecke (2007).

[10] See Rohr, Johns, and Heuvel.

[11] See Strickland and Palumbo.

to call her self a living Chronicle."[12] In this verbal depiction, Sophie names herself a resource of information, comparable to a written textual authority.

In her letters, there are references to a long list of texts and genres, demonstrating her active interest in literary circles. Rohr provides a list of the wide variety of literary references found in Sophie's letters:

> In her letters biblical quotations, proverbs, and references to novels (*Don Quixote, Gargantua, Pantagruel*) and plays (Corneille, Molière, Hans Sachs) frequently appear. Occasionally she alludes to contents, such as Helmont's *Gedanken zur Seelenwanderung*, religious or philosophical writings (Seneca, Epictetus, Lucian, Boethius, Descartes, Spinoza, Hobbes), travel descriptions (M. Martini on China, La Loubre on Siam), memoirs (of Queen Margaretha of Navarra, of P. Chanut, the ambassador in Sweden to Queen Christine, and those of François de Bassompière) or novels such as *Simplicius Simplicissimus* or Duke Anton Ulrich's *Octavia* and *Aramena*. She contributed money to the new edition of S. Boethius' *Trost der Weisheit* in Lüneburg in 1697 and ordered 100 copies. The recurring war reports, the French literary-political journal *Mercure galant* and the *Journal de Scavans* (from the Paris Academy) were at that time eagerly awaited reading material at the court in Hanover. Sophie was always well-informed and served even to strangers as the example of an educated princess.[13]

[12] Cramer, "Foreword," 4.

[13] Rohr, 88. My translation of the German original: "In ihren Briefen finden sich oft Bibelzitate, Sprichwörter und Hinweise auf Romane (Don Quixote, Gargantua, Pantagruel) und Theaterstücke (Corneille, Molière, Hans Sachs). Manchmal erwähnt sie Gelesenes, etwas Helmonts Gedanken zur Seelenwanderung, religiöse oder philosophische Schriften (Seneca, Epiktet, Lukian, Boetius, Descartes, Spinoza, Hobbes), Reisebeschreibungen (M. Martini über China, La Loubre über Siam), Memoiren (der Königin Margaretha von Navarra, des P. Chanut, Gesandter in Schweden bei der Königin Christine, und des François de Bassompière) oder Romane wie den 'Simplicius Simplicissimus' oder Herzog Anton Ulrichs 'Octavia' und 'Aramena.' Zur Neuauflage von S. Boetius' 'Trost der Weisheit' in Lüneburg 1697 steuerte sie Geld bei und ließ sich 100 Exemplare liefern. Die laufend erscheinenden Kriegsberichte, die französische literarisch-politische Zeitschrift 'Mercure galant' und das 'Journal de Scavans'

Although this list of books virtually forms a catalog in and of itself, there has as of yet been little scholarship directly related to uncovering Sophie's own perception of textual interaction and ownership. The reexamination of Sophie's literary output has not yet extended to an in-depth exploration of how she viewed her book collection and those of the people around her, even though there have been studies of the book collecting activities of women closely associated with her, such as Caroline of Ansbach.[14] In one examination of library ownership in the Hanoverian dynasty in Great Britain, for example, the discussion of the female members of this dynasty and their "lost libraries" lists Caroline of Ansbach (the wife of George II); her daughter Anne, Princess of Orange (the wife of William IV, Prince of Orange); and Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (the wife of George III).[15] As the founder of this dynasty, Sophie is cited as an important and influential figure in the life of Caroline of Ansbach, but her own library and book collecting is never mentioned. While Sophie's role as a noble woman who owned books has not yet received the full examination it deserves, particularly with regard to her own understanding and self-construction of this activity, the existence of her book collection has been well-established.

In her article "I Libri di Sophie von der Pfalz, Elettrice di Hannover," Margherita Palumbo provides the most authoritative discussion of Sophie's library and her interest in books and her collection.[16] According to Palumbo, Sophie's library consisted of 584 French, 123 German, and 164 English volumes (1,023 total) in an inventory made shortly after her death in

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(hervorgegangen aus der Pariser Akademie) waren damals am Hof in Hannover begierig erwartete Lektüre. Sophie war immer recht gut informiert und galt auch Fremden als Beispiel einer gebildeten Fürstin."

[14] See Jay and López-Vidriero.

[15] Orr 2004a, 165-166.

[16] Palumbo is also the author of a forthcoming edition of the inventory of Sophie's library, which will prove very useful since at present archival access to the inventory is restricted.

August of 1714.[17] She discusses how Sophie's correspondence reveals information about her books and argues against the perception that her library was simply an ornamental and representational library. Sophie's collection is also a mirror of her life and her interests. In some ways it appears to be a typical feminine library of the period, such as in the large number of French novels and the absence of Latin works.[18] Yet this construction is also incomplete. The large number of English works, for example, which outnumber the volumes in German but which would have been more difficult to find in German book markets, reflects Sophie's interest in affairs in England following the Act of Succession; the lack of books on mathematics results from Sophie's disinterest in that topic.[19] In the listing for Sophie in the *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland, Österreich und Europa,* her collection is described as separate from that of her husband Ernst August. When he died in 1698, a part of his private collection was incorporated into the court library, and another part remained with Sophie until her death in 1714, when her private collection joined the court library.[20] Her collection is said to have substantially increased the holdings of English-language materials (*Anglica*) in the Hanover court library. Her intellectual curiosity and scholarly connections, including her steady correspondence and interaction with Leibniz, are portrayed as reflected in her sizable collection of contemporary culture and science.[21] There remains some disagreement about the eventual fate of her library, however. In the biography by Matilde Knoop, Sophie is said to have left all her

[17] Palumbo, 298.

[18] Palumbo, 305-307.

[19] Palumbo, 308-311 and 323.

[20] "Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek-Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek," section 1.9, in Fabian.

[21] "Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek-Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek," section 1.9, in Fabian. The *Handbuch* also describes Sophie's collecting as including a rare collection of Milton's writings that she inherited from her mother Elizabeth Stuart. I have been unable to find information about whether this collection has survived.

German and English books and manuscripts to her youngest son Ernst August (1674-1728), and her French books to one Fräulein von Pöllnitz.[22] According to Palumbo, in her will Sophie left her entire collection, with a few exceptions, to her eldest son George.[23]

Sophie of Hanover was born Sophie of the Palatinate, the twelfth child of Friedrich V, Elector of the Palatinate, also known as the Winter King (1596-1632) and his wife Elizabeth Stuart (1596-1662), also known as Elizabeth of Bohemia, the Winter Queen and the sister of Charles I of England, who was the daughter of James I of England and VI of Scotland and Anna of Denmark. After her father's defeat at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620, he was stripped of his electorate and the family was forced into exile in the Netherlands. Sophie's father died when Sophie was too young to remember him herself, and in her memoirs she later described her relationship with her mother as distant as best. Following the custom at the English royal court, Sophie spent her early life in Leiden at a court separate from that of her mother; when she was ten years old, she was brought to the Hague to join her mother.[24] In contrast to the calmness of her early life, life at court was intellectually stimulating for the young princess. In 1650 she joined her brother Karl Ludwig, the Elector Palatine, at his court in Heidelberg, where the University of Heidelberg was reopened in 1652 and attempts made to replace the *Bibliotheca Palatina* which had been removed to Rome as booty during the Thirty Years' War.[25] During this time Sophie's sisters Elizabeth (1618-1680) and Louise Hollandine (1622-1709) were actively engaged in cultural activities, such as Elizabeth's correspondence with Descartes (reflecting her interest in mathematics and philosophy) and Louise's skill in painting. At this point Sophie

[22] Knoop, 244-245.

[23] Palumbo, 299.

[24] Heuvel, 79.

[25] Heuvel, 79-80.

demonstrated her interest in belles lettres and historical material ("schöngeistige Literatur und historische Stoffe").[26] She married Ernst August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1629-1698) in 1658 at the age of twenty-eight, and they had seven children, including George I of England. Ernst August became the Elector of Hanover in 1692 and died in 1698, leaving Sophie a widow at the age of 68. As the granddaughter of James I, Sophie of Hanover became an important political figure when the English Parliament passed the Act of Settlement in 1701 determining that the line of succession for the English throne would pass through her, the closest Protestant relative in the Stuart line.[27] Her son George became George I of Great Britain, although Sophie died only months before his predecessor, Queen Anne, and therefore only narrowly missed becoming queen of Great Britain herself.

Sophie's mother was also a figure whose literary and textual interactions deserve further study. As the daughter of James I of England and VI of Scotland and the sister of Charles I, the deposed and executed English king, Elizabeth Stuart was understandably interested in political events in England, and her familiarity with political and literary events in England, as well as the depth of her emotional involvement in them, can be seen in letters such as one dated October 26, 1654, to her son Karl Ludwig, in which Elizabeth warns him against receiving the Scottish minister and pamphleteer John Dury, who was passing through Karl Ludwig's territory.[28] Elizabeth Stuart writes that "I hope you uill neither see him nor suffer him to haue anie kinde of fauour or stay in your countrie, for though he be a minister, he is the basest rascall that euer was of that coat. He uritt and printed a booke, where he aproues of the king my dear Brothers

[26] Heuvel, 81.

[27] Hanham, 276-299.

[28] John Dury wrote one of the earliest treatises on librarianship, *The Reformed Librarie-Keeper* (1650) during his tenure as a deputy to Bulstrode Whitelock, keeper of the king's medals and library.

murther,[29] which I haue read, and he has translated into French Milletons booke [Milton's *Eikonoklastes* of 1649] against the kings booke, so as I intreat you, not to see that rascall nor suffer his stay […] I assure you, that I were now at Heidelberg, and that he passed there, I woulde haue him soundlie basted."[30] Elizabeth Stuart was emotionally engaged in the ongoing literary debates in England, and in her position as an exile in the Hague she was clearly still willing and able to devote the necessary time and financial resources to investing in the relevant literature. In her other letters to her son she constantly requested money for items such as overdue wages for her servants, food, drink, candles, plate (tableware), "turf" (peat dug for use as fuel), travelling funds, money to redeem pawned jewelry, tailor's and shoemaker's bills, and other numerous costs associated with running a noble household.[31] Yet her reading and collecting habits do not appear to have suffered, indicating that she viewed them as basic necessities essential to her role as a member of the English royal family, the former queen of Bohemia, and the widow of the Elector Palatine Frederick V. Books and written sources of information were seen as essential to a woman of her rank. Acquiring and exchanging these works represented a significant expenditure. As Erik Thomason points out in his discussion of Axel Oxenstierna's library, while the cost of collecting books and texts would have been much less than the expenses associated with noble households, such as purchasing clothes, horses, food, furniture, and maintaining servants, "[n]evertheless, amassing a library required particular resources."[32] In her impoverished position as the widow of a politically controversial figure,

[29] Possibly a reference to Dury's tract *Considerations concerning the present Engagement: whether it may lawfully be entered into; yea or no?* (London, 1649).

[30] Stuart, Elizabeth. Letter to Karl Ludwig. 26 October 1654. See Wendland, letter 32. The most appropriate definition in the *Oxford English Dictionary* for "basted" is "to beat soundly, thrash, cudgel."

[31] See, for example, letters 29-32 in Wendland.

[32] Thomason, 710.

Elizabeth Stuart had limited economic resources. Yet she managed to keep herself very well informed about current events in England, particularly those relating to her enemies. In a postscript in the letter to her son discussed above, Elizabeth Stuart related a recent event in London that caught her notice: "Cromwell[s] coach horses runne away uith him the other day, but his master the Divell saued him from harme onelie a little bruised and a black eye, the oulde rascal did driue himself and fell off the coache box, I hope it is a good omen."[33] Elizabeth constantly exchanges and acquires this type of information in the form of correspondence and books even during periods in which her resources are severely limited, indicating that she views her presence in literary debates and exchanges as one way of maintaining her prominent position even during her physical exile. During the personal union with Great Britain, the Hanoverian rulers maintained a presence in their German territories in their absence via strong literary connections with the libraries and cultural centers. The University of Göttingen was founded in 1734 by George II of Great Britain, and his private collection, which totaled approximately 3000 volumes, went to the Königlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek in Hanover in stages in 1729, 1730, 1732, and in 1760 upon his death.[34] The Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek-Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek still maintains a significant collection of the Hanoverian royal libraries.[35]

[33] Stuart, Elizabeth. Letter to Karl Ludwig. 26 October 1654. Wendland, letter 32.

[34] "Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek-Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek," section 1.21, Fabian.

[35] According to Fabian, "Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek-Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek," section 1.31, after the death of George II, the Königliche öffentliche Bibliothek in Hanover no longer grew as rapidly as it had up to that point, and in 1803 the most valuable holdings were evacuated to England in order to protect them from French forces; the works returned to Hanover in 1816. The collection was once again evacuated during the second World War, this time to Kloster Michaelstein near Blankenburg in Sachsen-Anhalt (Fabian, "Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek-Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek," section 1.44). The library collection survived World War II with minor damage and was returned to Hanover, except for approximately 10,000 to 12,000 volumes which had been left there when the Soviet troops entered. In 1947 the Royal Library became the Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek (Fabian, "Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek-Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek," section 1.47).

The portrayal of Sophie's literary accomplishments and her interactions with books varies, from that of a well-read sophisticated patron of the arts to that of a dilettante who was content to dabble in various subjects such as philosophy. The latter attitude is often represented in depictions of her discussions with Leibniz. In her own time, Sophie was recognized and admired as a well-educated woman. John Toland, an Irish writer and philosopher who was actively involved in the political discussion surrounding the succession of the English throne, met her in 1701 and 1702.[36] He praised her educational accomplishments and linguistic skills in his *Account of the Courts of Prussia and Hanover*, noting that "[s]he has bin long admir'd by all the Learned World, as a Woman of incomparable Knowledge in Divinity, Philosophy, History, and the Subjects of all sorts of Books, of which she has read a prodigious quantity" and that "[s]he speaks five languages so well, that by her accent it might be a dispute, which of them was her first. They are Low-Dutch, German, French, Italian, and English."[37] Sophie is here presented as an object of admiration, a learned woman whose particular interests are divinity, philosophy, and history (in that order), and Toland specifically credits her interaction with books as an important source of her knowledge. Sophie is an active learner who converses with notable scholars because she is already well educated and well read, rather than gaining most of her knowledge from her interactions with learned men. Moreover, her linguistic abilities situate her as a participant in broader European networks of communication.

After Sophie's death in 1714, her importance to the English succession and her prominence in the Hanover court ensured that funeral sermons were published. Johann Friedrich Cramer's Latin elegy *Elogium et Simulacrum Principis Incomparabilis Divae Sophiae, utcunque*

[36] Harding, Chapter 1: "Prehistory," 15-38.

[37] Toland, 66-67.

adumbratum A. I. F. C., translated into English by John Toland, also emphasizes Sophie's literary accomplishments in active terms. Rather than emphasizing her extraordinary accomplishments in and of themselves, however, her abilities are placed firmly in the context of appropriate female behavior for a royal woman. Her specific areas of knowledge are sketched in more general terms: "She excell'd in Letters far above what is usual to her sex, abounding in the particular knowledge of all things most becoming a Woman, and a Princess of her high rank."[38] Her femininity is emphasized here; presumably she is an expert in being a noble woman and all that this position entails, including her preparation for becoming the wife of a noble or royal man and the corresponding potential for social mobility above her rank. Cramer later goes into more detail about what he apparently views as the appropriate sphere for educated noble women:

> Richly fill'd as was her capacious Soul with the knowledge of all things humane and divine, she nevertheless did not think it beneath her most exalted station, to cultivate the female Arts, after the example of the antient [sic] Heroines; whether in the loom she mixt [sic] all the colors that silk or wooll [sic] are capable to imbibe, or with a skilful hand she wrought or painted with her needle, or that in any other such exercise she set an example to her Ladies. One of these was always sure in the mean time to read some useful or entertaining Book, ancient or modern; that while their hands were busy'd, their minds might not be neglected, but be fill'd with the contemplation of sublime objects, and other pleasing Delights of polite Literature.[39]

Although Cramer represents Sophie as similar to a goddess of wisdom and learning, he also praises her for her wide variety of skills and interests such as weaving and embroidering. Sophie

[38] Cramer, 3.

[39] Cramer, 5.

is a well-rounded noblewoman who serves as a conscious example to the women around her. She is described as richly filled with knowledge of all matters, both secular and divine, and fills her own mind and the mind of those around her with books both useful and entertaining from both ancient and modern authors. Cramer's particular admiration addresses Sophie's breadth of learning from the sublime to the practical and her ability to combine different levels of knowledge. Sophie's role is similar to that of a library or collection of information in the way in which she is described as this resource.

Sophie's own writings are described in glowing terms that emphasize both her femininity and her ability to write well. Cramer compares her to a bee gathering honey from a wide variety of flowers: "All that she said or wrote was still interspers'd with Politeness and Faceticusness [sic]; having, in her vast reading of so many Books in so many Languages, made all that was elegant or valuable in them her own, as a Bee gathers her best Hony [sic] from the choicest variety of Flowers."[40] The "best Hony" generated from Sophie's reading is, in Cramer's elegy, the "Politeness and Faceticusness" of her writings: the elegance and intellectual refinement of her work.[41] She is represented as a collector whose collecting is part of a scholarly activity. Sophie, like the bee, selects the best sources for her creation and produces a valuable and useful product from them. Her activities are depicted as natural and organic--entirely appropriate to her gender and social standing.

Cramer continues his praise of Sophie by comparing her with texts when he praises her as a source of wisdom to rival ancient sources. Sophie's entire literary output, in addition to her

[40] Cramer, 4.

[41] The *Oxford English Dictionary*'s list of definitions for the word "facetiousness," whose usage was first recorded in 1630, indicate that the definition used here is "polish and pleasantness of manner, urbanity" rather than its modern-day meaning of "frivolousness." "Politeness" is defined as "intellectual refinement; polish, elegance, good taste" in seventeenth-century usage.

verbal output and her behavior, if combined together, would be a revolutionary text: "If any Man wou'd collect into one Volum her wise and witty Sayings, Writings, and Actions, he might be sure to excel any thing of this kind in all Antiquity; provided he was sufficiently furnish'd with Learning and Judgment, to render him equal to the task."[42] In order to attempt such a collection into one volume, Cramer's hypothetical editor would face substantial intellectual challenges. The same type of act which, for Sophie, is as natural and as simple as a bee collecting pollen to produce honey, would pose serious difficulties to Cramer's collector.

In John Toland's translation of Cramer's elegy, Toland further emphasizes Sophie's representation as an exceptionally well-educated woman and the author of her own image in his preface to the work when he writes that she considered herself an expert in dynastic lineage. In Toland's opinion, this aspect has been neglected in Cramer's text: "I wish'd however, that he [Cramer] had sometimes illustrated her Elogy by special examples; […] that to other instances of her knowledge he had added, that she was wonderfully vers'd in the genealogies of Families, not only in Great Britain, but almost every where, and that she us'd to call her self a living Chronicle."[43] In Toland's quote, Sophie is presented as aware of her own position as a well-educated woman descended from kings and recognizes her own accomplishments. She is conscious of the ways in which she is represented. Genealogical connections are essential to political power, such as in the case of the Hannoverian succession, and in gaining mastery of this knowledge, Sophie is positioning herself within these networks.

Later depictions of Sophie's life give contradictory accounts of her scholarly abilities. In his account, Adolphus Ward states that "it may be doubted whether […] she was ever a profound

[42] Cramer, 2-3.

[43] Cramer, "Foreword," 4.

student, or even so much as an ardent reader of books."[44] Ward makes this contradictory claim in the middle of a passage in which he describes and lists some of the various books that she is known to have read: Spinoza's works; memoirs by famous people such as Pierre Chanut, the French ambassador to the court of Christian of Sweden and the Marshal de Bassompierre; novels such as *Don Quixote* (1605-1615)*;* Mateo Alemán's *Don Guzman d'Alfarache* (1599-1604)*; Simplicissimus* (1668); Michel de Montaigne's *Essais* (1580); Rabelais' *Gargantua* (1532-1564); Clarendon; Boëtius; the Jesuit Friedrich von Spee; and Ward specifically notes that Sophie read the *Mesopotamian Shepherdess* [sic] by Anton Ulrich of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (which she viewed as a "burlesque on the Bible").[45] He continues by specifically praising Sophie's literary acumen and analytical skills (such as her attention to *Simplicissimus* "while avoiding the stagnant fashionable bombast of her age"). Sophie was obviously a more careful and thoughtful reader than implied by Ward's statement, since at one point she requested Leibniz to draw up a list of the novels that she had read.[46] Yet Ward doubts her commitment to "true" scholarship when he states that she was unlikely to have been a "profound student" or "ardent reader." It is difficult to understand how Ward came to this determination after listing Sophie's literary influences and her interest in possessing a list of the books that she had read because his interpretation apparently rests on assumptions about female readers that directly contradict his stated facts.

The situational context or the site of this literary activity, Sophie's library or book collection, is mentioned only in passing, almost as a piece of evidence to support the depiction of

[44] Ward, 332-334.

[45] Ward, 332-333.

[46] Ward, 333.

Sophie as a dabbler or dilettante: "Dogmatic theology had no charms for Sophia; and even the faithful Bishop Burnet's book on a theme which ought to have interested her, namely, the Thirty-Nine Articles, she put aside as '*bon à feuilleter, mais non pas à lire,'* ['fine to leaf through, but not to read'] flippantly adding that the good binding of her copy would make it an ornament to her library."[47] Ward completely ignores the evidence of Sophie's library when he rejects her as a scholar and reader. The "flippant" and ironic comment about a binding ornamenting the library is taken as proof of a larger distinterest in reading, rather than as a criticism of one particular work. For him, this passage instead provides evidence for Sophie's lack of seriousness in all areas of scholarship. She is depicted as more interested in the external appearance of a book, particularly in the context of enhancing the appearance of her library, while Ward argues that she ought to have been more interested in its contents.[48] Yet a later passage in Ward's work makes clear that Sophie was in fact selective about the additions to her book collection and evaluated their contents critically. Upon receiving a book from Anthony Collins about "free-thinking" (possibly his 1713 *A Discourse of Freethinking, occasioned by the Rise and Growth of a Sect called Freethinkers*), she was offended by his "insolence" in sending it to her.[49] Clearly the contents of this work, and the context in which it was written and sent to her, matter in Sophie's evaluation and selection of the works in her library.

Mathilde Knoop's biography of Sophie of Hanover reinforces the depiction of Sophie as a dabbler in her interactions with books and scholarship. In Knoop's representation, Sophie's older sister Elizabeth of the Palatinate (1618-1680) is the true intellectual, an earnest and devout

[47] Ward, 334.

[48] Bindings are important in the preservation and identification of books belonging to a particular collection but the interest only in bindings rather than in their contents here seems to indicate, for Ward, Sophie's lack of intellectual engagement.

[49] Ward, 342.

book lover who read "works about numismatics or Jewish memorial stones with the same interest as mathematic and classical philology texts" ("Arbeiten über Numismatik oder jüdische Grabdenkmäler las sie mit dem gleichen Interesse wie mathematische und altphilologische Abhandlungen").[50] Elizabeth's intense study focusing on sober and serious theoretical texts are contrasted with Sophie's frivolous and lighthearted reading and collecting, which are compared with childish acts shaped more by instinct than by conscious choice: Sophie "collected knowledge and experience like colorful stones that she found by chance, the most valuable of which she saved" ("Sie sammelte Kenntnisse und Erfahrungen wie bunte Steine, die sie zufällig fand und von denen sie die wertvöllsten bewahrte").[51] This type of reading and collecting occurs by chance, rather than careful study, and the purpose of this activity is not to acquire knowledge, but to assemble shiny objects to admire and display. Sophie is decidedly placed in opposition with the ideal of a scholar, particularly when choosing books for her own collection. Her motivation for collecting, when it is not depicted as a reflection of a literary dilettante, is based in emotion rather than reason. At one point, Knoop mentions a work from Sophie's estate, a hand-copied manuscript of a 1643 satire called *Actéonisation du Grand Veneur d'Hollande,* and she speculates that Sophie kept this book in her collection as a type of literary revenge, since she perhaps felt herself to be a victim of court intrigues at the court mocked in this satire, the court of Fredrick Henry, Prince of Orange (1584-1647) and his wife Amalie von Solms-Braunfels (1602-1675).[52] In Knoop's portrayal there is a sharp contrast between the studious and intellectual Elizabeth and the lively and mischievous Sophie. Although she states that Sophie was an

[50] Knoop, 42-43.

[51] Knoop, 42-43.

[52] Knoop, 24-25.

attentive reader of good books ("eine aufmerksame Leserin guter Bücher"), she soon follows with the comment that in this regard Sophie was no doubt imitating her sister, whom she adored, thus once again emphasizing Elizabeth's scholarly prominence and denying Sophie agency in her own decisions.[53]

More recent scholarship on Sophie of Hanover emphasizes her literary accomplishments and depicts her as an intellectual woman in her own right. In Lloyd Strickland's argument, Sophie was a capable philosopher whose role was not merely that of a passive recipient of wisdom in her interactions with Leibniz and other scholars. He argues that Sophie's correspondence and interactions with Leibniz demonstrate an active and comprehensive understanding of philosophical concepts when placed in the proper context, while traditional interpretations of her correspondence have represented her as ignorant of the complexities of Leibniz' theories.[54] For Heike Dreier**,** Sophie's memoirs are evidence of her concern with and interest in dynastic succession; she was trying to emphasize the legitimacy of her family's position by shaping its historical representation, demonstrating an active awareness of the process of textual transmission.[55] In the articles by Alyssa Johns and Andrew Hanham, Sophie was a pivotal figure in shaping the cultural legacy of the Hanoverian dynasty and influencing the lives of other noble women, such as her daughter Sophie Charlotte and Caroline of Ansbach.[56] In their depictions, she was the founder of a long-lasting culture which privileged female education and literary activity. However, the motivation behind Sophie's interest in knowledge and information can also be negatively interpreted as a type of substitution or compensation for

[53] Knoop, 19.

[54] Strickland, 186-187.

[55] See Dreier.

[56] See Johns and Hanham.

unsatisfactory elements in her life rather than the natural and acceptable activity it appears to have been: Hanham in particular hints that her devotion to these female literary networks functioned as a type of consolation for her husband's infidelity.[57]

In this chapter, I analyze multiple texts created by Sophie of Hanover that reflect her life and demonstrate a pattern of depictions of textual interaction. In these texts, Sophie herself constructed, on multiple levels and in different contexts and in various ways, representations of those, including herself and her family members, who interacted with books and documents and texts. In the memoir she wrote in 1680, Sophie frequently mentions books and texts as creators of meaning and frames of reference around which larger webs of meaning are based.[58] Books and documents serve as a means of developing and managing essential information in the memoirs that documents her own self-reflection and her own self-depiction at one moment in time. In the correspondence between Sophie and her brother Karl Ludwig between the years 1652-1680, her travel letters to her brother on two trips in 1664-1665 and in 1679, and her letters to her nieces and nephews, the children of Karl Ludwig's second marriage, between 1680-1712, Sophie constantly refers to the specific context in which texts and written records were created, used, and exchanged, as well as the issues of preservation related to texts as artifacts.[59] In her medallions, medals, and portraits, Sophie represents herself in terms of the long-term survival of her dynasty and her image. The dedications to five of her books demonstrate another way in which her book-collecting and book-owning activities related to her life and her status. These

[57] Hanham, 278.

[58] This chapter relies upon the critical edition of the memoirs edited by Dirk van der Cruysse. The 1888 English translation by Forrester is the source of the English translations used in this text unless otherwise noted.

[59] Sophie's brother Karl Ludwig had divorced his first wife, Charlotte of Hessen-Kassel (1627-1687), in order to marry his mistress Louise von Degenfeld (1634-1677) in 1658; the thirteen children of this bigamous second marriage were known as the Raugraves and Raugravines of the Palatinate.

depictions of textual artifacts and collections, as discussed in Chapter Two, and the representation of the information lifecycle as a complete and cohesive activity not limited to collecting texts, as discussed in Chapter Three, form a more complete picture of the way in which textual interaction was associated with the position of a noble woman in early modern Germany.

4.1 The Depiction of Gender

As discussed earlier in the case of Wilhelmine of Bayreuth's memoirs, Sophie of Hanover's texts also represent gender as a category, one which frequently intersects with national and cultural identities. Sophie often refers to the feminine sex as a whole, with shared characteristics and preferences. During one incident on a voyage, an accident has a major impact on the women of her travelling party: "[t]he luggage chariot was upside-down in the water for more than three hours before it could be removed, so that all our clothes were spoiled, which causes great distress to the female sex."[60] The female sex here is referred to as a cohesive group interested in clothing and expected to be emotionally affected by its destruction. Sophie refers to another characteristic associated with the female sex when she describes the bed as the "throne" of women: "I wrote this letter in bed where women, as is said, are on their throne" ("j'avais écrit la lettre dans le lit où les femmes, à ce qu'on dit, sont sur leur trône.")[61] These references demonstrate a collective view of women that emphasizes certain socially accepted expectations. Women are concerned with their clothing and appearance, and women are associated with sexual activity and childbearing. Sophie alludes to these conventions without questioning them.

[60] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. 18 February 1665. Milan. Cruysse, 246. "[...] le chariot de bagage a été plus de trois heures renversé dans l'eau avant qu'on ait pu l'en retirer, si bien que toutes nos hardes sont gâtées, ce qui causerait une grande affliction parmi les sexe féminin."

[61] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. 6 February 1665. Venice. Cruysse, 244.

During Sophie's descriptions of her travels, she describes situations in which there are striking contrasts between the acceptable gender roles of her Germanic home territory and the places she visits. Certain locations are categorically incompatible with her expectations of appropriate female behavior. Sophie is appalled by the openness of certain cities: "Rome and Venice are not places for honest women who love honest society" ("Rome et Venise ne sont pas des lieux pour des honnêtes femmes qui aiment une société honnête.")[62] Yet her depictions are not always in favor of her home territory. In identifying herself as a member of the female sex, Sophie writes, in the German context, that women are at a disadvantage in general: "I thank God that I only have one daughter, for men have a great advantage over our sex in Germany" ("Je rans grace à Dieu, que je n'ay qu'une fille, car les hommes ont un grand advantage sur nostre sexe en Allemagne").[63] She describes the situation for women in the German-speaking world as disadvantageous in that men have more economic power.

However, in a cultural comparison between the situation in Germany and the situation in France, Sophie reveals one way in which the circumstances regarding personal property in Germany are very different. After Karl Ludwig's death in 1680, his son Karl II (1651-1685) succeeded him as the Elector Palatine. Karl Ludwig's complicated family situation--he had repudiated his wife Charlotte of Hessen-Kassel (1627-1686) to enter into a morganatic marriage with Marie Louise von Degenfeld (1634-1677)--and the result that he only had two children who could legitimately inherit his territory meant that when Karl II died in 1685, Karl Ludwig's

[62] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. 7 November 1664. Rome. Cruysse, 224.

[63] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. Osnabruck, 8 November 1675. Bodemann 1885, 257. Sophie writes this statement in the context of references to the financial situation of various women in her context, and she takes this opportunity to compliment her brother for his good sense in arranging her marriage.

daughter Elisabeth Charlotte (Liselotte) became a pawn in her husband's claim to the Palatinate territory. Her powerless situation is alien to a German audience and must be explained:

> I don't wonder that it will seem strange to all Germans that Monsieur [Liselotte's husband, the Duke of Orleans and brother of Louis XIV] alone is involved in the matter of the inheritance, because they are not familiar with the French marriage oath, which is constructed in such a manner that everything that is granted to the wife during the life of her husband totally belongs to the husband, and the husband as *maitre de la communauté* (as they call it) is lord and master over everything, can do and act as he sees fit, and the wife cannot resent it. If the husband dies, however, the wife can take her property which the husband squandered back from the husband's estate, but as long as they both live, the husband is the master of all.[64]

Presumably the rules governing personal property differ significantly from those in Germany, as demonstrated by the need to explain in such detail why Liselotte has no say in the inheritance arrangements. German women are allowed to participate more actively in such matters, since Sophie makes several reference to this national tradition: "Madam [Liselotte] has no say at all, Monsieur does everything as maitre de la communauté ; supposedly it is the French custom" ("Madam hatt gar nichts zu sagen, Monsieur thut alles als maitre de la communoté; es solt jha

[64] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Ferdinand von Degenfeld. Herrenhausen, 11/21 June 1686. Bodemann 1888, 48. "Es wundert mich gar nicht, daß es allen teutschen frembt vorkombt zu sehen, daß Monsieur [the Duke of Orleans] sich allein in die Erbschaftsache mischt, denn sie wissen die französche Ehepacten nicht; welche aber dermassen beschaffen sein, daß alles was dem Weibe in wehrenden lebens ihres Mans zukombt, ingemein mit dem Man zugehört und der Man als maitre de la communauté (wie sie es heißen) ist Herr und meister über alles, kan damit thun undt handeln wie er es gutt findt, ohne daß es das Weib übel nehmen darf. Stirbt aber der Man, so kan das Weib das ihrige, so der Man verthan, wider von des Mans gutt nehmen, aber so lang sie beyde leben, ist der Man herr über alles."

der fransösche brauch sein").[65] This custom does not reflect the situation in Germany for women and their personal property.

Sophie is clearly aware that there are different expectations and appropriate gender roles for men and women. The appropriate and allowable role for female activity is outlined in an incident when Sophie writes to her brother Karl Ludwig that she, like all women, is not allowed to take part in the official meetings.[66] There are activities which are considered appropriate for women, and there are activities which are not. Women are involved in political affairs, as Sophie amply demonstrates in her references to the current situation and her concern with the locations of various documents, but they do not share the same roles as men. One of these representations deals with the proper sphere of a noble lady. The noble class, both men and women, are responsible for those around them who are in need: "I wish I were rich enough to be able to help all the needy, for when that isn't possible, one cannot be counted as a goddess on earth, as the scriptures label the princes" ("Ich wolte, daß ich reich genung were, allen Dürftigen helffen zu können, dan wan das nicht ist, kan man nicht vor eine Gottin auf erden gerechnet werden, wie die schrift die fürsten nent.")[67] As Sophie describes this role, using the words "a goddess on earth," in reference to the financial support of the needy, it is clear that this role is active and hands-on. She regrets that she is unable to fulfill this role to the fullest extent because it is one of her God-given duties as a noble woman.

[65] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Caroline von Schönburg. Hanover [sic], 26 June/6 July 1687. Bodemann 1888, 58.

[66]Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. Celle, 18/28 March, 1675 . Bodemann 1885, 221. "Je voudrois vous pouvoir mender ce qui se passe icy, mais comme les femmes ne vont qu'au praiche et à la commedie et non pas au consail, je ne sçaurois vous dire, à quoi toutes les longues conferences des consailliers de toute la maison de Brunswic ont à bout, mais je scay bien, que la conclusion en a esté faite et que nous devions partir d'icy aujourduy."

[67] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Louise, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Hanover [sic], 21 February 1696. Bodemann 1888, 133.

These references demonstrate an awareness of appropriate and inappropriate gender roles and activities. Sophie of Hanover represents certain types of activities are suitable for women as a category, and she is familiar with constructions of masculinity and femininity. However, collecting and exchanging texts is not coded as masculine or feminine. One area in which women are expected to actively participate is in the interaction with documents, by using, preserving, and exchanging them.

4.2 Depictions of Collectors and Collections

In describing certain specific collections and collectors, Sophie's attitudes towards their value is heavily influenced by her perception of their usefulness. Books and texts dominate her descriptions, and there is a difference between collections of objects and of texts in terms of their value. In discussions of collections consisting of naturalia and objects, the objects that interest Sophie, and to which she refers, are gifts and objects of exchange that gain value from their position in a collection. When she receives a present of a relic, the hands of St. Friesenhausen, from her brother for her own collection of objects, her first response includes joy at the thought that this gift demonstrates that his financial coffers are well-stocked. She notes that her collection is full of many beautiful objects which she owes to his liberality, indicating that in this exchange she frames her own collection as a type of luxury, one which brings pleasure, but which has a more lasting purpose:

> I received with great joy the hands of the Seigneur de Frisenhausen, a saint who is worth his weight in gold--he gives me the most extraordinary eloquence to return my most humble thanks, and I hope that it is a sign that your coffers are full;--I will put it in my cabinet among the other beautiful objects that I have from your liberality, so that the memory lasts through the centuries of the praiseworthy Sir who caused the great scandal

> [Baff], for in this country one may only with difficulty comprehend a more beautiful virtue and all that which you possess will not give you much brilliance among the insipid...[68]

In Sophie's interpretation, Karl Ludwig's gift serves both as a sign that he is financially sound, at least for the moment, and as a timeless memorial to him once she places it in her collection. The objects she mentions may be beautiful, but they gain their meaning from their significance as gifts from Karl Ludwig rather than in their own intrinsic value. Yet Sophie contributes to her brother's collection by exchanging objects with him in return, rather than merely acting as the grateful recipient of his largess. Their relationship is reciprocal in the way in which they exchange objects and discuss the ways in which they construct and view their collections of objects.

Another mention of a collection refers to one of the most famous of early modern collectors, the Jesuit priest Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680), and his cabinet of curiosities. While visiting Rome, Sophie writes that she encountered Kircher: "I talked to Father Oliva and Father Kircher [...] The latter is a very good man; I have not yet taken the liberty of seeing his rarities, since it is necessary to request permission from the pope, who perhaps might be well-disposed to oblige me in this trifle after having offended my brother-in-law. But it is not worth the trouble."[69] Kircher's cabinet of curiosities contained a wide array of objects, and Sophie's reference

[68] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. Osnabruc [sic], 31 March 1661. Bodemann 1888, 42. "J'ay receu avec beaucoup de joye des mains du Sr de Frisenhausen un saint qui vaut son paisant [pesant] d'or; -- il me faudroit une esloquence bien extraordinaire, pour en rendre des tres humbles remersiments et j'espere, que c'est un signe, que vous en avez des coffres pleines; -- j'en pareray mon cabinet parmy les autres belles choses que je tiens de vostre liberalité, afin que la memoire demeure de siecle en siecle von dem löblichen Herrn, der das große Baff gebaut hatt, car difisilement dans ce peis icy peut on comprandre une plus belle vertu et toutte celle que vous possedés parmy des insipides ne vous donnera pas tant d'eclat..."

[69] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. Rome, 22 November 1664. Cruysse, 228. "J'ai parlé au père Oliva et au père Kircher [...] Pour l'autre [Kircher], c'est un fort bon homme; je n'ai pas encore eu la liberté de voir ses raretés, puisqu'il en faut demander la permission au pape qui serait peut-être bien aise de m'obliger par cette bagatelle après avoir désobligé M. mon beaufrère. Mais cela n'en vaut pas la peine."

indicates that it was an established site for visitors to Rome. In the normal state of affairs, she would have visited it, but the conditions under which she would be allowed to see it (i.e., to request permission from the Catholic pope Alexander VII) outweigh her desire to see it. The defining issue here is her religious affiliation and her familial connections that discourage her from visiting the cabinet. Sophie is well aware of the value of the collection, and of the position of the man who assembled it. However, she is much more interested in collections of texts: of literature, genealogy, political developments, and descriptions of people--information more directly applicable to her daily life, and necessary for her status and her position. These texts are the objects which she assembles and which she exchanges with others and which appear most frequently in her written texts.

These above incidents are mentions of collections of objects; the ways in which Sophie represents textual collections make it very clear that for her there is a distinction. In contrast to the depictions of naturalia or religious artifacts which gain meaning through their context, written documents have an inherent value. Sophie describes the value of a textual collection, and the importance she attaches to it, when she relates the story of a minister who is attached to a regiment at Osnabruck. In three different letters, she continues to relate his story and to mourn his collection. The first mention introduces a young minister who assisted in the editing of a Bible edition and whose library was burned in London during the great fire in 1666:

> There is a minister in the regiment of [Siegel], who speaks good English and who is very learned in the oriental languages, as you may believe, since he assisted in making the supplements to the new Bible, in which he was engaged for a long time, as well as instructing others in the aforementioned languages of the Orient; but as it is throwing pearls before swine to have him here and since he has nothing, his library was destroyed

> in the great fire in London, which was his residence (he is from Oldenburg), I thought that perhaps you would be well-disposed to have a man like him in your academy.[70]

This minister is portrayed as a suitable candidate for a school or academy since he is very learned and gifted in languages; the loss of his library in this description is named as proof both of his erudition and his lack of ties, family or otherwise, which would prevent him from relocating to Heidelberg. In a later letter, Sophie writes of the emotional dimension of his loss, describing it as melancholy, particularly in light of the fact that this young minister is lacking familial ties:

> At the moment I find him very melancolic at the loss of his library in London, which he claims to have assembled with much effort, for he was disinheirited by his father in his youth, because he did not want him at all to marry a woman he loved: after the death of his father, he returned and married said woman, but she died, fortunately, since I don't think that he could have had much to maintain them on.[71]

His library is made more valuable by the impoverished circumstances in which he acquired his collection. At that point in his life his family circumstances were troubled and his financial resources limited, so any investment in his books would represent considerable sacrifice. The loss of his library is particularly tragic since he has lost both father and wife, and Sophie notes that he is so poor that it is in a way fortunate that his wife died because this minister had very

[70]Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. Osnabruck, 26 January 1667. Bodemann 1885, 114. "Il y a un ministre sou le regiment de[Siegel], qui parle bon Englois et qui est tres sçavant dans les langues orientales, comme vous pouvez croire, puisqu'il a aidé à faire les suplements de la nouvelle Bible, où il a esté longtems emploié, comme aussi à enseigner des autres dans les dites langues d'orient; mais comme c'est jetter les perles aux borseaus de l'avoir icy et qu'il n'a rien, sa Bibliauteque aiant esté brulée par l'insandie de Londre, ce qui estoit son reste (il est d'Oldenburg). J'ay creu, que vous seriés peutestre bien aise d'avoir un homme comme luy dans vostre accademie."

[71] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. Osnabruck, 3 March 1667. Bodemann 1885, 115-116. "J'ay trouvé presentement tout melancolique de la perte de sa Biblioteque à Londre, qu'il dit avoir gagné avec tant de travaux, car il s'estoit enfuy de son pere dans sa grande jeunesse, parcequ'il ne vouloit point, qu'il devoit espouser une fille qu'il aimoit: apres la mort du pere il est revenu et a espousé la dite fille, mais elle est morte par bonheur, car je ne pense pas, qu'il auroit eu de quoi l'entretenir."

few resources or propects. The major investment in his life, his collection, is itself to be mourned since it contained valuable and important texts:

> The minister of whom I previously spoke to you, had good reason to be grieved to have lost his manuscripts, since he said that he had a document in the own hand of the king of Ethiopia, his confession of faith which he had sent to the king of Portugal to declare himself a Christian, along with other manuscripts which were presented to him in Turkey and Persia.[72]

Since Sophie notes that this young minister is entirely without financial resources, the loss of his library obviously represents a financial hardship to him. These texts are irreplaceable artifacts that document important figures, such as the religious convictions of the king of Ethiopia, and provide information about other cultures. Yet the monetary value of these lost works is only one aspect of their destruction; there is an emotional component as well. The minister is grieved and melancholic, and Sophie is moved by his situation because she, too, values texts and collections.

There are also several references to those who acquire books for reasons that are seen as foolish. These foolish reasons are selfish ones, those that do not serve the dynasty, the country, and the public cause. Sophie's nephew, Karl II (1651-1685), who followed his father as Elector, and her nephew Karl Moritz of the Palatinate (1671-1702), both appear to have difficulty in correctly interacting with texts for the correct reasons. Karl II is described by his father as engrossed in "little things" such as emblem books that bring little value to the world in which he lives: "it is idleness that gives it to him and a lack of application to something of use to his house, his country and to the public good. Instead he amuses himself with little things, like his

[72] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. Iburg, 9 March 1667. Bodemann 1885, 116-117. "Le ministre, dont je vous ay parlé, avoit bien raison d'estre affligé d'avoir perdu ses manuscrits, puisqu'il dit en avoir eu une escrite de la propre main du Roy d'Esthiopie, sa confession de foy qu'il avoit envoiée au Roy de Portugal pour se declarer chrestien, comme aussi diverses manuscrits, dont on luy avoit fait present en Turquie et en Perse."

books of emblems, for example, which cost him dear, or rather me, who paid for them without having the use of them..."[73] These emblem books are portrayed negatively because the electoral prince Karl is neglecting his duties and immersing himself in these books without the means to buy them himself. His father buys them, but cannot benefit from them. Another foolish use of money invested in books is in the description of the Raugrave Karl Moritz, who invests in them to have topics for discussion at dinner. The books are a substitute for his alcohol-addled wits. Sophie explains one way in which he is dissipated is in his books. "It is true that he babbles on at table and wastes his money on foolish books so that he has something to relate from them."[74] The implication is that this method of attempting to substitute the contents of books for actual conversational topics utterly fails. In both situations, the person acquiring the books is wasting money on them. In Sophie's references to her own books and acquisitions, value comes from their usefulness and cost is never the primary consideration. Her objections to these situations appear to be that such books have no immediate and practical application that is legitimately useful to the family, the territory, and the public cause. They reflect a hobby or a selfishly motivated desire.

Another way in which Sophie describes books and texts as foolish refers to one class of people considered book collectors because they needed books for professional purposes: doctors. Rather than trusting their own judgment, they prefer to consult their books "which are worthless in thousands of illnesses to which poor mortals are subject" ("qui ne peuvent servir de rien à

[73] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. 13 October 1677. Bodemann 1885, 305. "[C]'est l'oisiveté qui le luy donne et manque d'application à quelque chose d'utile pour sa maison, pour sa patrie et pour la cause publique. Au lieu de cela il s'amuse à des petites choses, comme par exemple ses livres d'emblemes, qui luy ont bien couté, out plustost à moy, qui les ay fait payer sans les mettre sur son conte..."

[74] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Louise, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Herenhausen [sic], 15 May 1702. Bodemann 1888, 228. Karl Moritz died on 3/13 June 1702. "Es ist nun [wahr], bey der taffel schwetzt er ihmer undt verquackelt sein gelt in dolle bücher, da er ihnen was aus zu erzellen hatt."

milles accidants auquels les pauvres mortels sont sujects.")[75] These doctors favor their books and texts over their own practical experience, and their patients suffer for it. Again, these texts are revealed to be ineffective in that they cause more suffering than they cure because those who own and use them are unable to discriminate between valuable and useless information.

The value of collections of texts and written documents is thus revealed to be in their usefulness and their practical applications to a wider sphere of influence than merely personal inclination. Those texts that serve a larger purpose--whether it is to further the dynastic interests, to clarify a situation about inheritance, to discredit other texts, or to reveal "secret" or restricted information--are depicted as valuable, indeed indispensible.

4.3 The Creation and Origin of Texts

In her texts, Sophie of Hanover frequently discusses the origin and creation of texts, including the individuals who created them and for what reasons. Accuracy and reliability are clearly concerns for her, especially when referring to documents that are important to her, such as those that concern legal matters or affect the public perception of herself and her family. One type of text in which accuracy is supremely important is the genre of genealogical works, and therefore the creation of such works is carefully scrutinized for accuracy and reliability. The necessity of correct genealogical sources is shown when Sophie discusses the Act of Succession, which was passed by the British Parliament in 1701. As Sophie writes, "The genealogist is poorly informed: he gave my son, the Electoral Prince, one son too many and me one son too few, since he forgot Maximillian. I should very much like to see that he was better informed because my descendants should be known" ("Der genalogist ist übel informirt: meinem sohn,

[75] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. Osnabruck, 30 June 1678. Bodemann 1885, 330. "Si les medeseins se servoient tousjour de leur jugement, comme vous avez fait en telle extremité, il sauveroient bien des personnes, mais ils aiment mieux souvant consulter des livres qui ne peuvent servir de rien à milles accidants, auquels les pauvres mortels sont sujects."

dem Courfürsten, hatt er ein sohn zu viel gegeben undt mir ein zu wenig, dan Maxsimilian hatt er vergessen. Ich müchte doch wol gern sehen, daß man ihn besser informirte, weil man mein decendenten wil bekant machen").[76] It is vital to Sophie that her descendants are correctly listed in these books since such sources form the official record of their existence.

These important resources can also be faked or created by those who have an interest in misrepresentation. One such incident concerns Eleonore D'Olbreuse, wife of George Wilhelm and mother of Sophie Dorothea, and Sophie's low opinion of the reliability of the genealogical resource that has recently been printed to recount Eleonore's pedigree. This work has been commissioned to claim that Eleonore is the descendant of French royalty, and, therefore, a more suitable consort for George Wilhelm. Sophie writes: "A genealogy of Madame d'Harburg was printed a short time ago in German which supposedly gives her a line of descent from the kings of France; it is said that it cost her 2000 écus to have the original made in France. The other would have been cheaper; if I weren't broke [dry], I'd have one made for my chambermaid and have her descended from Philip the Bold, King of France."[77] Sophie takes a cynical view of this genealogy because she views it as inaccurate. She is careful to note that it "cost 2000 écus," implying that this high cost came from its deliberate corruption and inaccurate information designed to place Eleonore D'Olbreuse in a better light.

Sophie's representation of her own act of creating a written record is discussed in her memoirs, which she began in 1680. She begins this text by states her reasons for writing it.

[76] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Louise, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Herenhausen [sic], 14 April 1701. Bodemann 1888, 209.

[77] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. Osnabruck, 21 October 1677. Bodemann 1885, 306. "On a imprimé une genealogie en Allemand depuis peu de Madame d'Harburg, qui la rant parante ou soit disant des Roys de France; on dit, que l'original luy a couté 2000 ecscus à le faire en France. Un autre l'auroit eu à meilleur marché; si je n'estois siche [sèche], j'en ferois faire une pour ma femme de chambre et la ferois descendre de Philipe le Hardi, Roy de France."

> As at the age which I have reached there can be no better occupation for me than that of recalling to memory my past life, I believe that I may indulge this inclination without risk of figuring in these writings (which are for myself alone) as the heroine of a tale, or of seeming desirous to imitate those romantic ladies whose lives have become celebrated by their extraordinary conduct. My object to merely to amuse myself during the absence of the Duke my husband, to avoid melancholy and to keep up my spirits; for I am convinced that cheerfulness preserves health as well as life, which is very dear to me.[78]

In the introduction to her memoirs, Sophie lays out several reasons for her to create them: she has reached the age in which the "best occupation" of her time is to reflect on the past; her husband is away and she requires a diversion; and she would like to banish her melancholy and bad humor. All of these reasons are framed as intimate and privately reflective, removed from a wider sphere of interaction and exchange. This solitary act of writing and of meditating on the past is portrayed as a type of consolation for the absence of her husband. It also acts as a type of compensation for another absence or lack--that of a better way to occupy her time. This lack is simultaneously a source of freedom, however, as she is now permitted to satisfy her own wishes and do as she desires with less fear of misrepresentation or misunderstanding.

Another reason for writing her memoirs soon becomes clear, however. In this passage, Sophie emphasizes the private and personal nature of the memoirs she is writing while drawing attention to two women who had published their own memoirs. These "romantic ladies," or "dames romanesques," are two women with whom she had cause for enmity: Marie Mancini, the

[78] Forrester, 1-2. "Comme dans l'âge où je me trouve il n'y a point de meilleure occupation pour moi que celle de me souvenir du temps passé, je crois que je me puis satisfaire sans paraître par cet écrit, qui n'est que pour moi, l'héroïne d'une histoire, ou d'avoir voulu [imiter] ces dames romanesques qui ont rendu leur vie célèbre par leur conduit extraordinaire. Je ne prétends qu'à me diverter pendant l'absence de M. le duc mon mari, pour éviter la mélancholie et pour conserver mon humeur dans une bonne assiette, car je suis persuadée que cela conserve la santé et la vie qui m'est bien chère" (Cruysse, 51.)

niece of Cardinal Mazarin, and the mistress of her husband Ernst August, and Eleonore D'Olbreuse, the mistress and future wife of her brother-in-law George William. The texts she refers to are *L'Apologie ou les veritable memoires de Mad. Marie Mancini, connétable de Colonna, écrits par elle-même* (Leyde, 1678); and *L'Aventure historique, écrite par l'ordre de Madame* *** (Paris, 1679).[79]

Sophie draws attention here to their "extraordinary behavior," including the publication of these works that have made their lives famous. In doing so, she contrasts their actions with her own virtuous (and appropriate) reasons for writing her memoirs. It is interesting that Sophie begins her memoirs, this document she constructs as intimate, by referring to books by two other women who both had negative connections to her life. The implication is that she was inspired, perhaps provoked, by their works to write her own. She has certainly read these texts closely, as shown by a later reference to the memoir by Marie Mancini, and she spends a great deal of ink refuting some of their charges (either explicitly, as in the reference to this memoir) or implicitly (as in her extensive quoting of written sources related to her brother-in-law's legal arrangements). This usage points to one way in which written texts are viewed: as representation, as the way in which one is judged by others, and through this function, as a source of power. Sophie's memoir is more accurate than the other two, at least in her representation of it, and therefore more valuable.

In concluding her memoirs, Sophie returns to the theme of her own act of creation, attributing it with the preservation of her own life, and the return to health:

> Thus it comes to pass that I have amused myself by describing the past, in which I should doubtless have succeeded better had I been in a gayer mood, free from sad reflections and

[79] These works are identified in Cruysse's footnote to the memoirs (35).

> melancholy. I hope that the Duke's return, which is expected in a few days, will restore me altogether, and that I shall not so soon go the way of all flesh.[80]

In concluding her memoirs, Sophie relates the pain of losing her brother Karl Ludwig, and the thought of her own death, combined with the absence of her husband, that nearly plunge her into despair. In the introduction, her brother's death did not appear, but in the conclusion it stimulates thoughts of her own mortality. These meditations are framed as destructive, and if Sophie had not found another way to occupy herself temporarily with a type of substitution, she might no longer exist. She does not turn to the Bible, to devotional literature, to novels, or to travel reports for consolation and comfort when confronted with death and loss. She does not write about her children and grandchildren. She does not commission a statue or dedicate great works to the memory of her brother or to herself. Here, the creation of her memoirs, the collection of her reminiscences and recollections into a written form, is explicitly credited with ameliorating her depression. She has just lost her brother, whose frequent written correspondence was "one of the great pleasures of her life" and is deprived of her husband's company, which she has marked as the impetus for writing these memoirs. It is only the return of her husband, she writes, that will save her life and return her to good spirits. Her memoirs are framed as a type of substitute for these two important people in her life. While Sophie ends the memoirs before her husband's return, stating that she hopes his presence will return her to her former state, she sees herself as the person responsible for writing herself out of her depression. The multiple books she mentions are indispensible in the memoirs for clarifying meaning and conveying emotional content, but, in

[80] Forrester, 261-262. "Cela est cause que je me suis amusée à décrire le passé, ce que j'aurais apparemment mieux fait dans une humeur plus vive où les tristes réflexions et la mélancolie n'eussent eu aucune part. J'espère que le retour de M. le duc, qui sear en peu de jours, me remettra tout à fait, pour n'aller pas si tôt le chemin de tous les mortels" (Cruysse, 173).

the end, Sophie is the one who is actively assembling them into a narrative that reflects her own experience: her own life, as collected in a written text.

This depiction emphasizes one of the main themes of the memoirs--for Sophie, textual interaction often takes the place of physical interaction with her loved ones. Her beloved brother, her niece, her daughter, her nieces and nephews, and other family members are all far away from her, and so to interact with the texts is to interact with them in the form of letters, but also in the form of books that they exchange and discuss, texts that they send to each other to copy and proofread, documents that they have both examined, and so on. The distance between them is not always geographic; after her son's death, his manuscripts are a substitute for interacting with him. After her brother Karl Ludwig's death, his letters are a means through which she can mourn and remember him. And she describes these texts in that manner--as a way by which she can still interact with those who are dead. Creating these texts is not only a way to collect and preserve the individual but also to support her family and her dynasty.

4.4 Acquisition and Exchange

In Sophie's correspondence, the exchange and acquisition of texts is a frequent theme.[81] In order to build her collection, she must first obtain works for it. In one exchange, Sophie simultaneously recommends and requests a particular work, Grimmelhausen's *Der abenteuerliche Simplicissimus Teutsch* (1668).

> I was recommended a book in German called Sinplisis Sinplisissimos [sic] which was printed in Mompelgard. From the title it is said that the prince of that location is the author of it. I think it will be similar to Bertoldo et Bertoldine, which is why I'm

[81]See Palumbo, 299-300.

recommending it to Your Signora under the condition that she will take the trouble of finding me one; I think that they are to be found without doubt in Frankfurt.[82]

Sophie writes to her brother to describe this work, which Peter Heßelmann notes she compares with a "Volksbuch" called *Bertoldo et Bertoldine*, which was a French version of a work by Giulio Cesare della Croce (1550-1609), an Italian writer.[83] Sophie is familiar with the nature of the Bertoldo and Bertoldine stories, and she specifically states that this similarity is why she is recommending them to her brother's wife bigamous second wife Louise, with the requirement that Louise will find her a copy as well. Sophie suspects that Frankfurt will offer this book, one she cannot find in Iburg or Osnabrück, and instead of requesting that her brother obtain the work for her, she specifically requests that Louise do so instead. This incident demonstrates that women were involved in networks of exchanging texts, and it suggests that for Sophie, Louise von Degenfeld is a more suitable person to request to perform this commission for her.[84]

In addition to fictional works, Sophie demonstrates active interest in acquiring texts describing current events. In one reference to the meeting of the electoral princes to elect a new Holy Roman Emperor after the death of Emperor Joseph I in 1711, Sophie writes to her niece Louise of her wish for the printed description of the ceremonies: "[...] Ich wolte, ihr hättet das

[82] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. Iburg, 5 November 1670. Bodemann 1885, 154. "On m'a recommendé un livre en Allemand, qui s'appelle Sinplisis Sinplisissimos, qui a esté imprimé à Mompelgard; par le titre on diroit, que le Prince du lieu en est l'auteur. Je pense, qu'il vaudra bien Bertoldo et Bertoldine, c'est pourquoi je le recommende à vostre Sigre [Louise] à condition, qu'elle veuille se donner la paine de m'en faire avoir un, je pense, qu'on le trouvera sans doute à Francfort."

[83] Heßelmann, 19.

[84] In a later letter, Sophie thanks both Karl Ludwig and Louise for sending not only *Simplicissimus*, but also its companion work, *Courasche*:"J'ay receu en mesme temps celle dont il vous a pleu m'honnorer par la poste et aussi celle qui est venue en compagnie avec Mad. Courage. Cette bonne dame n'a jamais esté si pompeusement montée que sur des tonnos [tonneaux] d'admirable vin, [...] L'histoire de Sinplicissimo commence fort pieusement, je ne scay, si la fin sera de mesme; je le feray lire pendant que je travaille à faire des gartieres à la mode pour Mr. mon mari" (Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. Iburg, 10 December 1670. Bodemann 1885, 155.)

Gedruckte von die sermonien mitgeschickt, aber tharin wirdt euer urtheil über alles nicht so wol beschriben sein."[85] Sophie expresses her desire for the printed description of the meeting and its ceremonies, and she specifically addresses her niece as someone who can acquire it for her. She would like to have this work in addition to the version she already possesses, Louise's account, which contains valuable interpretations of the events. In another situation, Sophie writes to her niece Louise to request her to search for a rare book related to her mother Elizabeth Stuart. "[...] Ich habe ein [defectes] buch von alle die carousellen undt [missing text], die bey der Königin meiner frau mutter hochzeit sein gehalten worden. Ich müchte wissen, ob es nicht zu Franckfort zu finden were."[86] This book is explained in the footnotes as a very rare book, the *Beschreibung der Reiß-Empfahung deß Ritterlichen Ordens: Vollbringung des Heyraths... gehaltener Ritterspiel und Frewdenfests: Deß Durchl. ... Friedrichen deß Fünften, Pfaltzgraven bey Rhein ... mit der ... Elisabethen deß Großmechtigsten Herrn... Jacobi ... Mit seinen Kupferstucken gezieret. In Gotthardt Vögelins Verlag, Anno 1613*.[87] When Sophie receives texts, she frequently comments upon their contents and refers to information known to her that is outside of the text. In one letter to Louise, her niece, Sophie thanks her for the work and mentions certain information that has been omitted: "For das überschichte buch undt kupferstuck vom einzug sage ich grossen danck. Es stehett viel tharin, aber nicht, wie unhöfflich der fürst von [Lobkowitz] den Herzug von Moden tracktirt hatt."[88] Sophie is grateful for this work, but she describes one way in

[85] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Louise, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Herenhausen [sic], 3 September 1711. Bodemann 1888, 321.

[86] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Louise, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Hanover [sic], 19 January 1709. Bodemann 1888, 299.

[87] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Louise, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Hanover [sic], 19 January 1709. Bodemann 1888, footnote 6 on page 299.

[88] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Louise, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Hanover [sic], 7/17 April 1699. Bodemann 1888, 191-192.

which it is lacking: it fails to accurately reflect the situation it describes. In all of these incidences, which represent only a few of the many such exchanges and requests, Sophie is specifically addressing other women in her search for these texts.

Sophie's acquisitions are shaped by certain criteria, such as accuracy and usefulness. One work which Sophie references, which she describes as of interest, is rejected because it is full of lies.

> I haven't seen the book written about the wedding; if it were respectable, I would likely wish to have it, but now there are such a heap of lies written. One person who served under Gourville writes that I was the daughter of the king of Hungary; Madam [Liselotte] is angry about a certain du Mont who said in his book that the deceased Raugrave was badly treated after her death because Madam had reason to complain.[89]

If this document were accurate, Sophie would attempt to acquire it, but its falsity stimulates her to mention other slanderous works that have been written. These works directly affect her reputation, and the reputation of those around her.

During her travels, Sophie writes of her own acquisitions and performs commissions for others during her travels, describing and facilitating the exchange of documents. After seeing one opera performed, she writes to her brother that she has acquired it: "it is a very beautiful opera; I will bring it with the others that were played for Mme Degenfeld. If you would like to order more things from me, I will receive your requests in Milan and will order them sent to you."[90] In

[89]Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Louise, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. 26 March/5 April 1699. Bodemann 1888, 191. "Das buch, so man von der hochzeit geschriben, habe ich nicht gesehen; wan es recht umstendtlich were, wolte ich es wol haben, aber man schreibt nun ein hauffen lügen. Einer, so bey Gourville gewessen, schreibt, ich were petite fille du Roy d'Hongrie; Madam ist auch bos über einen du Mont, der sacht in sein buch, man hätte die Rauwgrefin selig übel tracktirt nach ihrem todt, weil Madam suject hätte gehatt, de s'en plaindre."

[90] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. 6 February 1665. Venice. Cruysse, 244-246. "J'ai vu représenter hier *Ho siro siro più più non sono*. [note from the editor that it would take more research to identify this opera] C'est un

a visit to the silver mines of George William in the Harz mountains, Sophie proudly notes that she is the first woman to enter the mines and go down into them.[91] She even offers to send the plan of the mines to Karl Ludwig, if she can encounter George William in a pleasant mood.[92] When Sophie is travelling, she is in a position to acquire new works and commission specific texts, and she takes full advantage of this possibility.

Sophie also mentions gifts and texts that she has received from others that she has added to her collection. Often these works are described in combination with the circumstances in which they were created, exchanged, and used. The usefulness of the works is clearly a desirable quality, but beauty can appear as a means by which the works are judged. Sophie clearly takes these presents as her due, rather than an unusual occurrence or an exception to the normal state of affairs. Sophie desires these works, as is seen when the French ambassador at one point offers to provide Sophie with a valuable and interesting manuscript, or at least the promise of one: "He promised me a manuscript from the court of France in the time of Queen Marguerite, written by the one to whom she addresses her memoires. I think it would be very agreeable to read; I would steal it, if I could."[93] This reference to Margaret of Valois (1553-1615), whose memoirs were posthumously published in 1628, indicates that Sophie's interest lay in reading this document, and that the French ambassador knew that this present would be of interest to her.

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très bel opéra; je l'apporterai avec les autres qu'on a joués pour Mme Degenfeld. S'il vous plaisait me commander autre chose, je recevrai vos commandements à Milan, et ordonnerais bien ici qu'on vous l'envoie."

[91] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. [January 1663]. Bodemann 1885, 55.

[92] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. [January 1663]. Bodemann 1885, 56. "Il y a un homme qui a fait le plan de touttes les mines qui apartiennent à [George William], c'est un furieux ouvrage; quand il sera en taille douce, je vous le feray voir."

[93] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. À la Haye, 2 February 1660. Bodemann 1885, 23. "Il m'a promis un manuscrit de la cour de France du tems de la Reyne Maregrite [Marguerite], escrit par celuy, auquel elle adresse ses memoires. Je crois, que cela sera fort agreable à lire; je le deroberois, si je pouvois."

Specific evidence of these exchanges, and Sophie's position as the object of dedications and gifts, can be seen in the dedications to five of Sophie's books listed in the catalog of the Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek in Hanover as specifically belonging to her library. These works are a New Testament in Portuguese by Joam Ferreira a d'Almeida, *O Novo Testamento. Isto he, Todos os Sacrosanctos Livros e Escritos Euangelicos e Apostolicos do Novo Concerto De Nosso Fiel Senhor Salvador e Redemptor Jesu Christo* (1712); William Penn's *Some Fruits of Solitude, in Reflections and Maxims Relating to the Conduct of Human Life* (the seventh edition from 1706) and *More Fruits of Solitude: Being the Second Part of Reflections and Maxims, Relating to the Conduct of Human Life* (1702), both books bound together in one volume; and a three-volume work by James Tyrrell, *The General History Of England, Both Ecclesiastical and Civil* (1696-1704). These works are identifiable as having belonged to Sophie's library since there are dedications and external marks of ownership that place them as having been a part of her collection.

Several of these books (Penn's *Fruits* and the Portuguese New Testament) appear unused; the pages are clean and unmarked, some uncut, and the bindings are clean and uncreased. The dedications to these works indicate their provenance. The Portuguese New Testament is dedicated as follows:

> To ye Select Library / Of HER / ROYALL HIGHNESS / Ye / Most Serene Princess / SOPHIA / This New Testament in the / Portugeuese Tongue / Printed upon ye Charge of ye / English Society / for /Propagating CHRISTIAN KNOW- /LEDGE for ye Use of / Our Protestant Missionaries at Tran-Quebar in ye East Indies is most humbly / Presented by / Her Royal Highness's / Most obedient Servt. / A Corresponding Member of / Ye said Society / Samuel Urlspreger (Figure 9)

The dedication by Samuel Urlspreger (1685-1772), who was a German pastor and Pietist theologian, refers to what was then the Danish colony of Tranquebar (present-day Taranambādi in India). There were Lutheran missionaries, including the Moravian Brethren from Herrenhut, Saxony, as well as Catholic missionaries in Tranquebar. The dedication by William Penn (1644-1718) is much shorter and makes reference only to Sophie's position as the widowed electoral princess of the territory of Hanover. William Penn dedicates his work "For the Princess Dowager Of Hanover" (Figure 10). The gift of these works postdates the Act of Settlement which made Sophie the next in line to the British throne. Penn's dedication makes no reference to Sophie's royal status, while Urlspreger refers to it three times.

The three-volume work by James Tyrrell (1642-1718) bears the following dedications, which appear to escalate in degree:

> To the most Serene
> And Highborne Princesse
> SOPHIA
> Electresse Dowager
> Of Brunswick
> From
> Her most humble and obedient Servant
> James Tyrrell (Figure 11)

> To the most excellent and Serene Princesse
> Sophia, Dutchesse [sic] Dowager, Electoral
> Of Hanover, Brunswick & Lunenberg. [sic]
> These volumes are most humbly
> Presented by her Highnesse's
> Most humble and devoted
> Servant
> J. Tyrrell (Figure 12)

> To her Royal and Serene Highnesse,
> Sophia, Electresse Dowager of
> Hanover and Heiresse Presumptive
> To the Crowns of England and Ireland
> This volume is most humbly dedicated by her most obedient

And faithful Servant
J. Tyrrell (Figure 13)

While it is impossible to know exactly when Tyrrell's works were dedicated or given to Sophie's library, they must have been dedicated at some point between their date of publication (volume one in 1696, volume two in 1700, and volume three in 1704) and the death of Sophie of Hanover in 1714. All of the works listed here date from this period approximately dating from the passage of the Act of Settlement, as their dedications, with their references to Sophie's newly prominent position as the heiress to the British throne make clear. Sophie received these works since she was relevant to the English context in which they were written, printed, exchanged, and dedicated. They survived as items whose provenance can be traced because there was this connection.

4.5 The Use and Misuse of Texts

In her writings Sophie outlines many contexts in which books and texts are used. The depictions range from theoretical to the extremely practical, demonstrating the wide variety of applications for the works in her collection. During her description of one unpleasant overnight stay with one Monsieur de la Letterie and his wife, Sophie constructs her account around a book, the writings of Seneca, which she frames as a foundational text for this family.

> The only consolation that these poor people possessed, as far as I could see, was a huge volume of Seneca, from which doubtless, they had learned to despise riches. [...] The good man of whom I speak was too old to go to seek his fortune; otherwise he might have come to play the fine gentleman at our courts, and have enjoyed good cheer instead of Seneca's precepts.[94]

[94] Forrester, 197. "Je ne vis rien de plus consolant pour ces bonnes gens qu'un grand livre de Sénèque qui leur avait appris apparemment à mépriser les richesses […] Le bonhomme dont je viens de parler était trop vieux pour aller

Sophie is using this example to illustrate her point--the poverty of this household--by showing that they possess nothing more "consoling" than a book of Seneca, the Stoic philosopher. She humorously suggests that these people have apparently learned from this book to have distaste for riches. When she states that since the gentleman is too old to seek his fortune, which would have provided "la bonne chère" (good fare or food) instead of the precepts of Seneca, books definitely take on an aspect of substitution or consolation in the form of replacement. Seneca in particular seems to stand as a marker for compensatory but inadequate substitutes for more natural and comfortable behaviors. Here we see a book that can both serve as a replacement for life experiences (here the experience is food and comfortable surroundings) and a book which has "taught" these people to view wealth negatively because they had no choice. The difference depends upon how it is used.

In her description of the daily routine of her childhood, Sophie mentions three works that were important in her education: the Bible, the Heidelberg catechism, which was a standard devotional and moral text that identifies her upbringing as Calvinist, and the *Quatrains moraux* by Guy du Faur de Pibrac (1529-1584). The way in which Sophie mentions them makes clear that as a child she did not regard them with any particular reverence or respect for the lessons that they taught her.

> I learned the Heidelberg catechism in German, and knew it by heart, without understanding a word of it. I rose at seven in the morning, and was obliged to go every day *en déshabillé* to Mlle. Marie de Quat, one of the ladies before mentioned, who made me pray and read the Bible. She then set me to learn the "Quadrains de Pebrac," while

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chercher fortune. Sans cela il serait peut-être aussi venu à nos cours faire le grand seigneur pour se server de la bonne chère au lieu des préceptes de Sénèque" (Cruysse, 140).

she employed the time in brushing her teeth; her grimaces during this performance are more firmly fixed in my memory than the lessons which she tried to teach.[95]

Sophie learned the Heidelberg catechism by rote without learning the meaning, and she remembers the dirty teeth and grimaces of her teacher more than the morals of Guy du Faur. These works are portrayed as form without substance, performative acts that have no more meaning than that they have been accomplished. These references do not mean that Sophie did not appreciate education--on the contrary, she was very proud of her own educational accomplishments and spoke highly of her sisters' learning.[96] They also do not mean that Sophie was mocking the works themselves; for example, she writes in a later letter to her niece, the Raugravine Louise, that her other niece Amalie is giving herself over to the will of God during an illness, "welges der groste trost in leben undt in sterben ist, wie uns der Heidelbergsche Cathekismes leret."[97] However, it does indicate that she did not view these works as automatically morally instructive (she knows the Heidelberg catechism by heart but doesn't understand it). Simply reading the Bible did not make her a pious child.

Sophie also makes references to literary texts in ways that relate them to her own immediate experience, and to the experiences of those around her, to create a web of meaning that can only be properly understood by those who share the access to texts. There are numerous

[95] Forrester, 4-5. "On m'enseigna le catéchisme de Heidelberg en allemande, que je savais tout par cœur sans le comprendre […] j'étais obligée d'aller tous les jours en déshabillé auprès de Mlle Marie de Quadt […] qui me fit prier Dieu et lire la Bible. Ensuite elle m'apprit les quatrains de Pibrac, pendant qu'elle employait ce temps-là à nettoyer ses dents qui en avaient toujours [besoin], et à rincer la bouche, dont toutes les grimaces me sont bien mieux restées dans l'imagination que tout ce qu'elle voulait m'enseigner" (Cruysse, 38).

[96] Interestingly, in her description of her sister Elizabeth, she follows her praise of her intellect by highlighting her lack of common sense, indicating that Sophie also perceived books and higher study as capable of distracting the scholar from the practicalities of daily life ("elle savait toutes les langues et toutes les sciences, et avait un commerce réglé avec M. Descartes. Mais ce grand savoir la rendait un peu distraite et nous donnait souvent sujet de rire" [Cruysse, 44]).

[97] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Louise, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Hanover [sic], 9 March 1709. Bodemann 1888, 302.

comparisons of people to the figure of Molière's "Tartuffe": the Jesuit priest named Wolf who was allegedly influential in persuading her son Maximilian to convert to Catholicism;[98] and a doctor named Pernot, who is the "Tartuffe" of Hanover.[99] It describes another situation: "Madam de [Chartres] licht auf dem todt, worauf Madam schreibt wie in Tartuffe stehett: 'la volonté de Dieu soit fait en toute chose.'"[100] Another play by Molière is used to explain how one court personage is behaving like a hypochondriac: "Ob der gutte Galli [one of Sophie's Kammerherren] schon redt wie Mr. Fadel undt thut wie le malade inmaginaire, so hoffe ich doch, daß er nicht so balt sterben wirdt."[101] She is using these texts as a type of key or code that makes references to works that her contemporaries should know.

When, in her memoirs, she wishes to describe her childhood using a type of literary shorthand, Sophie chooses a picaresque novel as her example:

> I pass over in silence the tricks that I used to play on my governess, now become blind from old age, fearing lest my history might resemble that of the Tormes family.[102]

In this description of her childhood, she states that she will not describe the tricks she played on her governess out of fear that her story will seem to reflect or mimic a fictional autobiography. The anonymously published picaresque novel *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y*

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[98] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Louise, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Hanover [sic], 14 December 1702. Bodemann 1888, 239; Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Louise, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Hanover [sic], 28 December 1702. Bodemann 1888, 241; and Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Louise, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Hanover [sic], 7 January 1703. Bodemann 1888, 243.

[99] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. Pirmond, 9 July 1669. Bodemann 1885, 142.

[100] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Louise, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Hanover [sic], 8/18 April 1694. Bodemann 1888, 114. Bodemann notes that this quote is from Molière's *Le tartuffe,* Act 3, scene 7.

[101] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Louise, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Herenhausen [sic], 9 September 1708. Bodemann 1888, 287.

[102] Forrester, 7. "Je passé sous silence toutes les pièces que je faisais à ma gouvernante que l'âge avait rendue aveugle, de peur que mon histoire aurait quelque rapport avec celle de la famille de Tormès" (Cruysse, 39-40).

de sus fortunas y adversidades was first published in 1554 and quickly appeared in numerous translations. Banned by the Spanish Inquisition from 1559 to 1573, the work was popular and widely read. Sophie's reference to this work as a type of code or literary substitute for her own early life is not a matter of self-censorship of incidents that she deems too impolite to relate, especially considering that she has no reluctance in relating several pranks from her life at her mother's court, including incidents in which she dips a handkerchief in a chamber pot and throws it in the face of one opponent, and another scene in which she places dog feces in a box and gives it to a courtier with a mocking poem. Instead she uses this book to stand for, or to imply, the quantity rather than quality of incidents in which she plays tricks on her elderly governess, which are too numerous to name ("toutes les pièces").

When Sophie is suffering from a bout of illness, including diarrhea, she turns to *Gargantua* to express her feelings and actions about another way in which texts can be useful: "I conclude in another way than Gargantua that there is nothing better than the pages of an old almanac" ("je conclus d'une autre maniere que Gargantua qu'il n'y a rien de meilleur que les feuilles d'un vieu almanac.")[103] In referring to the potential use of an old almanac as toilet paper, Sophie is, in a way, showing her awareness that certain works, such as almanacs, are not necessary after they have served their intended purpose and they are not suited for long-term preservation. Instead, they can be used in a different way.

Another use for texts is as an aid to sleep. In a type of reader's advisory, Sophie sends her brother one work that she specifically states she has not read, noting that it is supposedly good for encouraging sleep:

[103] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. Iburg, 23 January 1664. Bodemann 1885, 62.

> I'm sending you a book which I have not yet read, but of which it is said, that it is suitable for putting you to sleep when you read at night. It's the portrait of the women of Amsterdam who are not coquettes and who do not grow weary of troubling their husbands with their nonsense and expenses, which is no less inconvenient.[104]

That this advice has been followed in shown by a letter from Karl Ludwig in which he thanks her for the book and states that he is following her advice.[105] This portrait of the women of Amsterdam is apparently comforting enough that sleep follows from it. This book is not the only book that is recommended for its soporific qualities, however. For Sophie, one of the greatest benefits of reading for her is that she can always fall asleep over a book, which is an important quality for her: "Mr. Descartes wrote a great deal about this matter [blushing] and I think that his book concerning the passions of the soul would not be ill-suited to put you to sleep. For me all authors are good for this; I always fall asleep over a book. It is the greatest benefit I receive from reading, and it's a lot..."[106] She writes that all authors have this effect, not just Descartes or a text on the women of Amsterdam, and this is a valuable quality to her. The use of a text is and should be both practical and theoretical.

[104] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. Osnabruck, 7 April 1678. Bodemann 1885, 320. "Je vous envoy un livre que je n'ay point leu, mais qu'on dit, qu'il seroit propre à vous endormir, quand vous faites lire la nuit, c'est le pourtrait des femmes d'Amsterdam, qui ne sont pas coquettes et ne laissent pas d'inportuner leur maris par leur niaiseries et depenses, ce qui n'est pas moins incommode."

[105] In his reponse, Karl Ludwig thanks Sophie for the book and writes that he is following her advice by reading it for two hours every night (Palatinate, Karl Ludwig of the. Letter to Sophie of Hanover. 6/16 April 1678. Bodemann 1885, 322.

[106] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. Osnabruck, 9 March 1679. Bodemann 1885, 352. "Mr. des Cartes escrit sur cetter matiere [blushing] fort amplement et je crois, que son livre touchant les passions de l'ame ne seroit pas mal propre pour vous faire dormir. À moy tous les auteurs sont bons pour cela; je m'endors tousjour sur un livre; c'est le plus grand profit que je tire de la lecture et je trouve, que c'est beaucoup...."

4.6 Preservation, Conservation, and Destruction of Texts

Sophie uses medallions and coins as means of representing herself, and they demonstrate an awareness of death and the inevitable. Sophie's device is "Senza turbarmi al fin m'acosto" on the medallion from 1696 (or as she writes it "zensa tourbarmy al fin m'acosta"), which depicts a sunset with the inscription "I face my end without concern or grief" ("eine am heitern Himmel untergehende Sonne mit der Umschrift: ich gehe meinem Ende entgegen ohne mich zu beunruhigen u. zu betrüben").[107] As Sophie writes to her niece Louise in 1701, she has chosen this emblematic combination of text and image to demonstrate that she is prepared for death, and accepts the uncertainty of life: "Aber in ein augenblick kan ich doch vergehen wie ein blum auff dem felde, undt habe die genad von Gott, daß ich den todt gar nicht fürgte, wie ich auf meine medaile habe setzen lassen...."[108] Coins were objects that were often collected during this period, and as can be seen by the number of coins issued by her husband Ernst August and her son George Ludwig, were not only important as currency but also as official commemoration of events, people, and dates.[109] As we have seen from Elisabeth Sophie Marie's coin in Chapter Two, coins also reflect the opinions and perspectives of the individuals they depict. Elisabeth Sophie Marie wished to emphasize the deep emotional connection to Elisabeth Juliane on her coin and to highlight her connection to the Wolfenbüttel dynasty on the coin she had struck for the thirtieth anniversary of her marriage. Sophie's device, which appears on many coins, emphasizes her stoicism and acceptance of decline and death in its depiction of a sunset. This is a representation that was created specifically to circulate, in the form of a medallion that would be

[107] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Louise, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Herenhausen [sic], 12/22 February 1697. Bodemann 1888, footnote 2 on 154. For more information about Sophie's medallion, see Fiala.

[108] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Louise, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Herenhausen [sic], 19 May 1701. Bodemann 1888, 211.

[109] See Fiala.

given to friends and family, and to be preserved as an object removed from its economic context (unlike a coin used for currency). In it, Sophie acknowledges the fragility of human existence and her own preparation and acceptance of death, which would have necessitated making her own preparations, such as a will.

In other situations, Sophie describes the aftermath of the death of an individual in terms of the property that they leave behind. In addition to the numerous discussions of wills in her texts, books and manuscripts also function as memorial objects. Sophie describes her ownership and use of ten manuscripts written by her deceased son Christian in a way that demonstrates that to her they serve as artifacts of memory. She reads and cherishes them because they are the only artifact she possesses that belonged to her son. "Ich divertire mich mit 10 manuscribten, so mein seliger sohn Christian mit eigener handt geschriben hatt von allerhandt sachen in der welt, alle Historien; er mus schrecklich viel gelesen haben; ich kan es nicht verbrennen, dan es ist alles, das ich von ihm überich habe...."[110] Christian died in 1703. Sophie mentions the possibility of destroying the manuscripts only to deny it, since these physical artifacts are one last "living" connection to her dead son, just as she earlier in the memoirs describes her letters from her deceased brother as a type of artifact that reminds her of him. The inventory of Sophie's sister, Elizabeth of the Palatinate, which Sophie is sent after Elizabeth's death, and which she in turn sends to her brother, is mentioned directly after the notice that Elizabeth has died: "Elle [Elizabeth, abbess of Herford] a quitté ce monde le 8me de Fevrier. Je vous envoy aussi l'inventaire des legats qu'elle a laissé et dont elle avoit ordonné à Mlle de Horn de me donner

[110] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Louise, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Herenhausen [sic], 3 July 1704. Bodemann 1888, 262-263.

une copie."[111] It is important to send the inventory and to make arrangements concerning the property as soon as possible.

The destruction of texts is sometimes more important than their preservation. Sophie's sadness after the death of her brother Karl Ludwig is mixed with her anxiety and apprehension that the letters she wrote to her brother will be read by the wrong people, or that they will be read and misinterpreted, and she immediately requests that they be returned to her.

> I ask you to ask all the men on my behalf that if letters from me are found among the things of the deceased electoral prince then send them back to me, for I have often written a heap of foolish antics, along with other familiar matters, which I would dislike to have read by all and sundry.[112]

Sophie does not immediately receive her letters, however, which is cause for concern.

> If anyone wants to read my letters, which I wrote to the deceased electoral prince, that person will find that [Sophie here mentions an issue of sibling rivalry between Karl II and Karl Moritz, the Raugrave].Other than that, there is nothing in them that I should be afraid of; it is only because I wrote freely and often included loads of mockery in order to divert the deceased that I should not like those other than the electoral prince or his wife to laugh over them. [...] I'm grateful to Baron Ferdinand for his care, but I only wanted to burn my letters, because they were not worth preserving, especially if they will be criticized by many.[113]

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[111] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Karl Ludwig. Osnabruck, 12 February 1680. Bodemann 1885, 408.

[112] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Caroline, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Hanover [sic], 13/3 October 1680. Bodemann 1888, 7. "Ich bitte, sie wolle doch die sembtliche Herrn redte meinentwegen bitten, wan etwa briffe von mir under F.L. des Courfürsten selig sachen gefunden würden, sie mir doch wieder zu schicken, dan ich oft ein hauffen Narrenpossen geschriben, wie auch andere familiare sachen, so ich nicht gern gesehen hette von Jedermann."

[113] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Caroline, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Hanover [sic], 28/19 November 1680. Bodemann 1888, 10. "Wan man etwa meine briffe wirdt lesen wollen, so ich an den Courfürsten selig geschriben, wirdt man

The survival of these letters is a problem for Sophie, since they may be used against her:

> I heard with surprise that all of my letters from the electoral prince were opened. There is no betrayal to be found in them and I also don't think that my sincere sentiments could have displeased the electoral prince [Karl II] if they were not being twisted in his eyes by evil minds [...] I would like to know who makes me out to be so suspicious; I have nothing to conceal.[114]

Another situation concerning textual preservation and curation concerns the documents surrounding the inheritance dispute after Karl Ludwig's death.[115] These incidents convey the importance of determining the disposal of property and making provisions for the preservation or destruction of documents before one's death. Karl Ludwig's situation was made more complicated by his decision to bigamously marry a second wife, which produced both noble descendants who could inherit and illegitimate children who could not.

In the depictions of Sophie of Hanover, the use of written texts is equally a part of women's lives and demonstrates their integration in networks of communication and exchange. They are used as a source of entertainment, of comfort and consolation, of information about current events, educational resources, and many other communicative functions, and they can

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auch finden, daß [...] Es ist sunsten nichts tharin, da ich mich vor zu scheuwen habe; allein weil ich gar frey geschriben und oft ein hauffen raillerien, F.L. selig zu divertiren, mügte ich eben nicht, daß andere als F.L. der Courfürst oder Dero gemallin tharüber lachen solten. [...] Ich bin Baron Ferdinant vor seine vorsorg obligirt, ich habe aber meine briff nur brennen wollen, weil sie nicht wert sein zu verwaren, insonderheit wan sie von villen solten sansurirt werden."

[114] Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Caroline, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Hanover [sic], 28 November/8 December 1680. Bodemann 1888, 11-12. "Ich habe mit verwunderun[g] vernommen, daß meine briffe alle von F.L. dem Courfürsten sein geoffnet worden; man wirdt kein verratt tharin gefunden haben undt meine ich auch nicht, daß meine aufrichtige seintimenten F.L. dem Courfürsten haben missfallen können, wan Dieselbige nicht durch bösse gemüter vor Dero augen verdunckelt werden. [...] Ich mügte wissen, wer mich so verdegtig macht; ich habe nichts zu solisitiren."

[115] See, for example, Hanover, Sophie of. Letter to Caroline, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Hanover [sic], 17/27 December 1680. Bodemann 1888, 13; Letter to Caroline, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Hanover [sic], 10/20 January 1681. Bodemann 1888, 14; and Letter to Caroline, Raugräfin zu Pfalz. Hanover [sic], 21/31 March 1681. Bodemann 1888, 19.

also function as a source of external representations such as wealth or power. These documents are primarily for use in ways that best serve the individual, the dynasty, and the territory. Texts are essential because they represent a source of power, information is a type of currency for social status and for influence, and libraries, or collections of multiple texts, are so necessary for engaging in interaction with others that their presence is not commented upon, only their absence.

Sophie, and her contemporaries, both noble men and women, exist in a world in which their lives are surrounded by, and defined by, texts, such as wills, occasional poetry (*Gelegenheitsgedichte*), funeral sermons, treaties, legal agreements, proclamations, medallions, *Stammbücher*, letters by the thousands, gazettes, calendars, verses, novels, and plays, that directly refer to and comment on them. To appear in these documents is to be present in the world, and to exist is to see the confirmation of one's own existence and of one's family printed in these texts. Sophie and the other women who lived in her context of nobility and upper-class society are very aware of the need to collect and curate, to exchange documents and texts, because they realize that these texts form their public persona and shape their existence. In their world, this activity was essential to their duties as members of the nobility. They are immersed in information exchange, activities, and use--which underscores the modern conflict in the representation of the book collector as an individual who collects objects (such as texts) that are removed from their context of use in order to preserve them from use. While Sophie and the other women around her form their own valuable collections of documents (including letters, printed sermons, copies of important documents such as wills, festival descriptions, printed works such as novels, genealogy books, and so on), they are doing so specifically in order to support their own activities and to use them in their daily lives. As we have seen in other

collectors, such as Duke August and Samuel Pepys, the ideal early modern collectors collect for their own personal use, not merely or exclusively for the purpose of a hobby or luxury activity. They would not have conceived of their own activities in the way in which the identity of the modern book collector is often framed (as a luxury, a hobby, a display of eccentricity and madness, a disease, a role restricted to the idle wealthy, and so on) because for them it was a self-evident part of their lives--to acquire, exchange, and make use of information in written form and to preserve or destroy it, was essential to their own identities.

CONCLUSION: ANALYZING THE COLLECTOR AND THE COLLECTION

> The book-collector [...] is the hermaphrodite of literature: neither a reader nor a writer.
>
> --Attributed to Shane Leslie[1]

> A scholar is just a library's way of making another library.
>
> --Daniel C. Dennett, *Darwin's Dangerous Idea*[2]

This study has explored the context of book collecting by German women in the early modern period (1650-1780) through a series of case studies of individual women. The five women in this study--Elisabeth Ernestine Antoine of Sachsen-Meiningen (1681-1766), Elisabeth Sophie Marie of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1683-1767), Wilhelmine Friederike Sophie of Bayreuth (1709-1758), Caroline of Ansbach (1683-1737), and Sophie of Hanover (1630-1714)--were all collectors of written documents. All of these women existed in a context in which their interactions with written records were an integral part of their lives. They saw themselves reflected constantly in the representations they created and that were created all around them. They depicted their own textual interactions and collecting in ways that reflected their own understanding of these activities as integrated into their social responsibilities and duties as noble women. These depictions conflict with the modern theoretical understanding of the identity of the book collector, which is often based on subjective interpretations of the collector's motivations and externally generated expectations that include gender as an unexamined criterion. In many ways the lives of these women were shaped by their texts, and their legacy

[1] This quotation comes from Holbrook, vol. 2, 292. I have been unable to locate Holbrook's source. Sir John Randolph (Shane) Leslie (1885-1971) was an Irish nationalist and writer who was Winston Churchill's first cousin (see Leslie and Taylor.)

[2] Dennett, 346.

now consists solely of documents about their lives. They themselves are no longer present in a physical sense. The artifacts that relate to their lives, which serve as the primary sources for later analyses and interpretations, are those which have survived, often by chance. In turn, the way in which these women have been represented has also played a role in ensuring the survival of information about them. The evidence of their collections serves as tangible proof of the value they placed on this activity in their lives. Their textual representations that frame collecting and textual interaction as suitable activities for men and women provide information about the literary networks and sites of information exchange, about the dissemination and reproduction of texts, about the important position of early modern German women in wider networks of learning and discourses of knowledge.

In addition to German noblewomen, there are many, many other women in these contexts who are known to have possessed collections of books and other documents. In their pioneering bibliography *Schriftstellerinnen, Künstlerinnen und gelehrte Frauen des deutschen Barock* (1984), Jean Woods and Maria Fürstenwald provide an extensive list of German-speaking women who were active in networks of learning, literature, and information exchange. A preliminary overview of Bernhard Fabian's *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland, Österreich und Europa*, which is a bibliographic resource currently consisting of over 43 volumes that provides the locations of collections, identifies over 120 women whose collections are presently located in whole or in part at libraries in Germany, Austria, and Europe. During the time period 1650-1780, middle-class women increasingly appear as authors and collectors. Non-noble women such as Maria Sibylla Merian (1647-1717) and Luise Adelgunde Victoria Gottsched (1713-1762), whose lives were also defined by their interactions with texts, offer interesting avenues for exploration. Maria Sibylla Merian is recognized as a collector of

naturalia, and in order to support herself and her children, she sold her books.[3] After her death, her collection of books was recognized as a significant object with economic and scholarly value, since her daughter sold it to Peter the Great. In an article on the book collections of Luise Adelgunde Victoria Gottsched and her husband the German writer Johann Christoph Gottsched, Gabriele Ball draws particular attention to Luise Gottsched's philosophical books.[4] Evidence about their collections exists, but the possibility of their identification as book collectors remains ambiguous.

It is important to reconsider our assumptions about the past in terms of the modern understanding of the role of information curation. Within the literature on the history of libraries, the meaning of the book, and the context of book collecting, there is a sense that we find ourselves at a crossroads. There appears to be a great deal of uncertainty about what is going to happen in the future. Fred Lerner's work *The Story of Libraries from the Invention of Writing to the Computer Age* devotes the final chapter to addressing "Libraries of the Future." While Lerner discounts those who claim that digital technology will make paper and collections entirely obsolete, he acknowledges that there will be substantial changes in the way we interact with data and compares the "anarchy of the Internet" with the "bibliographical chaos" caused by the accelerated pace of information creation and dissemination brought about by the printing press.[5] Warren Chappell's *A Short History of the Printed Word* ends with a chapter on "The Digital Revolution and the Close of the Twentieth Century" in which he bemoans the "flatness" and ephemeral nature of the printed page in an era of cheap mass-produced books produced by

[3] See Todd.

[4] See Ball 2006.

[5] Lerner, Chapter 24: "Libraries of the Future," 201-211.

computerized design.[6] For Chappell, future generations are in jeopardy from the effects of the digital revolution:

> Why so much emphasis here on the physical quality of books? Durability and beauty, like intelligence, are something more than luxuries. They are tactics for survival. Books are part of culture, and culture is part of propagation. Culture--something common to all mammals and birds--is the part of any species' propagation conducted by nongenetic means. Writers, typographers, printers, and publishers make their books to last (if they know what a book is) for the same reason that they feed and clothe their children. The degradation of the book goes hand in hand with the destruction of the forests, the pollution of the water, the pollution of the air. It is one more way of reaping profits now and leaving nothing to the people of the future.[7]

These theoretical people of the future are threatened by "flat" and uniform books that are seen as simply a product to be marketed, and this threat is as destructive and pervasive as air and water pollution. Chappell contrasts this shortsightedness with the immortality of a book of quality and taste, which is linked to the propagation of human culture. Without beautiful and durable books, human culture as we know it is doomed. In his discussion of reading in the digital era, Sven Birkerts also links the decline of Western civilization to a type of "flatness," this time in our reading practices and in our growing expectations that we will no longer have to interpret and suffer through the complexity of human life for ourselves.[8] Birkerts compares this development

[6] Chappell, 276: "When so many words are printed, it is no surprise they float upon the surface of the paper like breath on the windowpane rather than entering into the paper, crimping it, making a permanent change in its shape that suggests a permanent change in its meaning."

[7] Chappell, 296.

[8] Birkerts, 228: "My core fear is that we are, as a culture, as a species, becoming shallower; that we have turned from depth—from the Judeo-Christian premise of unfathomable mystery—and are adapting ourselves to the ersatz

with a Faustian bargain with the devil himself, who "no longer moves about on cloven hooves, reeking of brimstone. He is an affable, efficient fellow. He claims to want to help us all along to a brighter, easier future [...] our toil and misery replaced by a vivid, pleasant dream."[9] Rather than a faceless revolution driven by profit and ease, this growing human reliance upon computers is willfully destructive, even damned.

Writers such as Robert Darnton, Geoffrey Nunberg, and Jeff Gomez take a more optimistic view of computer technology and the role it can play in revolutionizing the way in which we perceive and exchange information. In their writings, they champion the combination of electronic and analog materials and the way in which they can complement each other. Nunberg writes that "we should look to electronic discourse to provide a counter and complement to the informational forms of print--a domain that privileges the personal, the private, and the subjective against the impersonal, the public, and the objective."[10] These works in all of their forms reflect and constitute the culture in which humans exist, and the best way of dealing with these new possibilities is to find ways to integrate them into existing concepts and discourses. For Gomez, the fate of the book is linked to larger contexts, as when he writes that "no matter how much we treasure the book, what's really important is the culture of ideas and innovation that books represent. It's this culture that's at stake, not the publishing companies or the fate of bookstores, or even the book itself as a physical form."[11] Darnton discusses how the

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security of a vast lateral connectedness. That we are giving up on wisdom, the struggle for which has for millennia been central to the very idea of culture, and that we are pledging instead to a faith in the web."

[9] Birkerts, 229.

[10] Nunberg, 133.

[11] Gomez, 199.

digital environment could realize the utopian ideal of the republic of letters, and he writes that the past can offer valuable insight into the future.[12]

In an age when the future of the book and of human culture is constantly under discussion, and in which ever-increasing digital resources offer new possibilities, the idea of a physical collection, and with it the identity of the collector, is called increasingly into question. Will collecting physical books disappear in the digital age? Will it become an avenue for nostalgia and an activity reserved solely for the idle rich? Can a library of digital texts be considered a collection? Is there an essential and unchanging aspect to collecting? Online texts are becoming commonplace, and with these new ways of accessing information there are new possibilities for scholarship. Archives and libraries are working to digitize their collections to make them available to scholars worldwide, independent of location, which presents a tremendous advantage for scholars unable to travel to distant archives and gain access permission for the purpose of seeking research material. There are amazing new projects that explore the boundaries of scholarship and create new ways of examining connections between scholars, increasing access to texts, and enabling interdisciplinary collaborative efforts. As more collections are digitized and made available online, however, the context of those collections becomes more removed from the context of daily life. Digitizing existing resources can deprive them of their context of creation, increasing the divide between the creator or author and the reader, and the collector risks disappearing completely. As Shane Leslie describes in the first quote at the beginning of this chapter, the book collector is a "hermaphrodite" in that this identity does not fit into the dichotomy of reader vs. writer. The collector falls into the space between these polar opposites, just as the hermaphrodite evades the categories of male and female. In the

[12] Darnton, "Chapter 3: The Future of Libraries": "When I try to foresee the future, I look to the past" (43).

digitized environment, absent from the physical object of the book, information is recreated in a new format that appears objective and neutral. The library seems to become its own entity, generated by itself. To attribute agency to the library itself, however, is to deny that the library had a starting point, and that this beginning originated in an individual.

It is important to remember that there are individuals driving the decisions about which written records are curated and maintained. The resources that are available to us from the past survived because these decisions were made, and they were made by individuals for individual reasons. The type of collector like Sir Thomas Philipps, who voraciously purchased and stored anything and everything, regardless of genre, format, and origin, is extremely rare. Most collectors have limited financial resources, limits on storage space, and specialized interests, and therefore they must necessarily be selective. This selection reflects the bias of its era. Who is preserving culture, and what decisions are being made that will affect what future scholars perceive? Who decides which individuals are to fill these roles, and what are the underlying criteria for these decisions? In a period in which women are recognized as collectors, the collections formed by women are more likely to survive. If the collections, and records of their existence, survive, then women are more likely to be represented as collectors. If women are represented as collectors, then women are more likely to collect.

The quote by Dennis Dennett that appears at the beginning of this chapter is taken from his discussion of the phenomena of cultural evolution; more specifically, the ways in which "memes," or "units of cultural transmission," evolve and propagate themselves.[13] He facetiously creates a slogan ("a scholar is just a library's way of making another library") to stimulate investigation into how these memes function, and proceeds to reflect on the "appalling" nature of

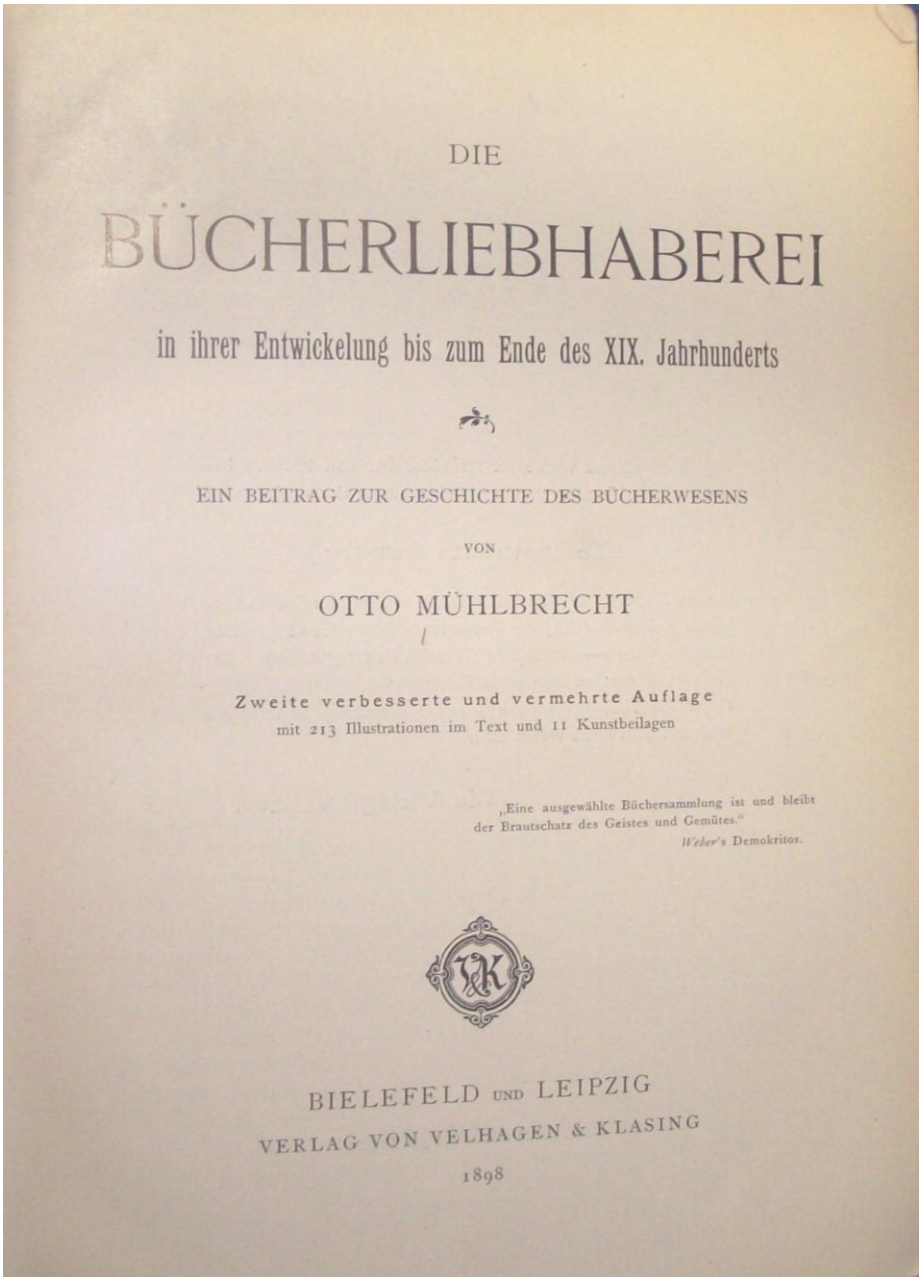
[13] Dennett, in the subchapter entitled "Invasion of the Body-Snatchers" (342-352).

this process as depicted here: "I don't know about you, but I am not initially attracted by the idea of my brain as a sort of dungheap in which the larvae of other people's ideas renew themselves, before sending out copies of themselves in an informational diaspora."[14] Yet the concept of the self-replicating library is valid in that the resources that are available to scholars and researchers, be they online or in a physical collection, tend to shape the scholarship that is produced. In studying the identity of the collector, and in examining the role played by gender in representations, my study emphasizes this cultural agency. Collectors, and the figure of the collector, not only play a role in deciding which collections and which materials are preserved, particularly in private collections, but they also play a role in determining collecting policies and shaping future scholars and scholarship. If women as an entire class of humanity are viewed as in "enmity" to the book, as Willa Silverman describes in *The New Bibliopolis,* or if women are constructed as biologically alien in discourses about written texts, that shapes how these roles are viewed. These are the origins of our cultural record and thus our past. To interpret women as intrinsically absent from active participation in the context of the cultural record, past and present, is to distort the representations and interpretations that can be made from it, now and in the future.

[14] Dennett, 346.

FIGURES

Figure 1: Title page from Otto Mühlbrecht, *Die Bücherliebhaberei in ihrer Entwickelung bis zum Ende des XIX. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Bücherwesens* (Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1898). Private collection. Image by the author.


DIE

BÜCHERLIEBHABEREI

in ihrer Entwickelung bis zum Ende des XIX. Jahrhunderts

EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DES BÜCHERWESENS

VON

OTTO MÜHLBRECHT

Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage

mit 213 Illustrationen im Text und 11 Kunstbeilagen

„Eine ausgewählte Büchersammlung ist und bleibt
der Brautschatz des Geistes und Gemütes."
Weber's Demokritos.

BIELEFELD UND LEIPZIG

VERLAG VON VELHAGEN & KLASING

1898

Figure 2: Title page and frontispiece from Georg Ludolf Otto Knoch. *Bibliotheca biblica. Das ist: Verzeichnis der Bibel-Sammlung, welche … Frau Elisabeth Sophia Maria … Herzogin zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg … gesammlet und in dero Bücher-Schatz auf dem Grauen Hofe … aufgestellet hat* (Braunschweig, 1752.) Collection of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München. Call number: 4 B.isag. 7.

BIBLIOTHECA BIBLICA

DAS IST

VERZEICHNIS

DER

BIBEL-SAMMLVNG

WELCHE DIE

DVRCHLAVCHTIGSTE FVRSTINN VND FRAV

FRAV

ELISABETH

SOPHIA MARIA

ERST VERWITTWETE HERZOGIN ZV

BRAVNSCHWEIG VND LVNEBVRG

GEBOHRNE HERZOGIN ZV SCHLESWICH-

HOLSTEIN ETC.

ZVM BEWEISE

DER AVSBREITVNG VND VERHERRLICHVNG DES NAHMENS GOTTES

IN MANCHERLEY SPRACHEN,

ABSONDERLICH DER TEVTSCHEN DVRCH D. MART. LVTHERN,

GESAMMLET

VND IN DERO BVCHER-SCHATZ

AVF DEM GRAVEN HOFE,

DER CHRISTLICHEN KIRCHE ZVM BESTEN

AVFGESTELLET HAT.

BRAVNSCHWEIG. MDCCLII.

T 175/167

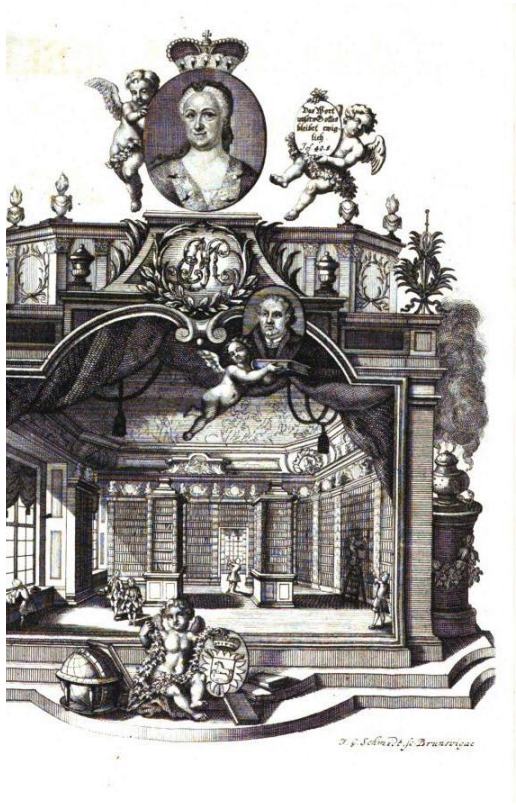


Figure 3: The Gandersheim Abbey library seal on the binding of its books. Collection of the Bibliothek des Predigerseminars und der Landeskirche, Theologisches Zentrum and Predigerseminar der Ev.-luth. Landeskirche in Braunschweig. Image by the author.

Figure 4: Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie's handwritten dedication in *Europäische Staats-Canzley in sich haldend allerhand Nutzliche Staats-Justiz-Policey-Cameral-Militar-und andere uff Reichs- und Creys-Tägen passirte merckwürdige Materien samt vieler hohen potentaten Republic-quen und herrschafften curiosen Schrifften Ceremonialien und Propositionen* [...] *Gedruckt in Jahr Christin 1697.* Collection of the Bibliothek des Predigerseminars und der Landeskirche, Theologisches Zentrum and Predigerseminar der Ev.-luth. Landeskirche in Braunschweig. Stiftsbibliothek Gandersheim 522. Image by the author.

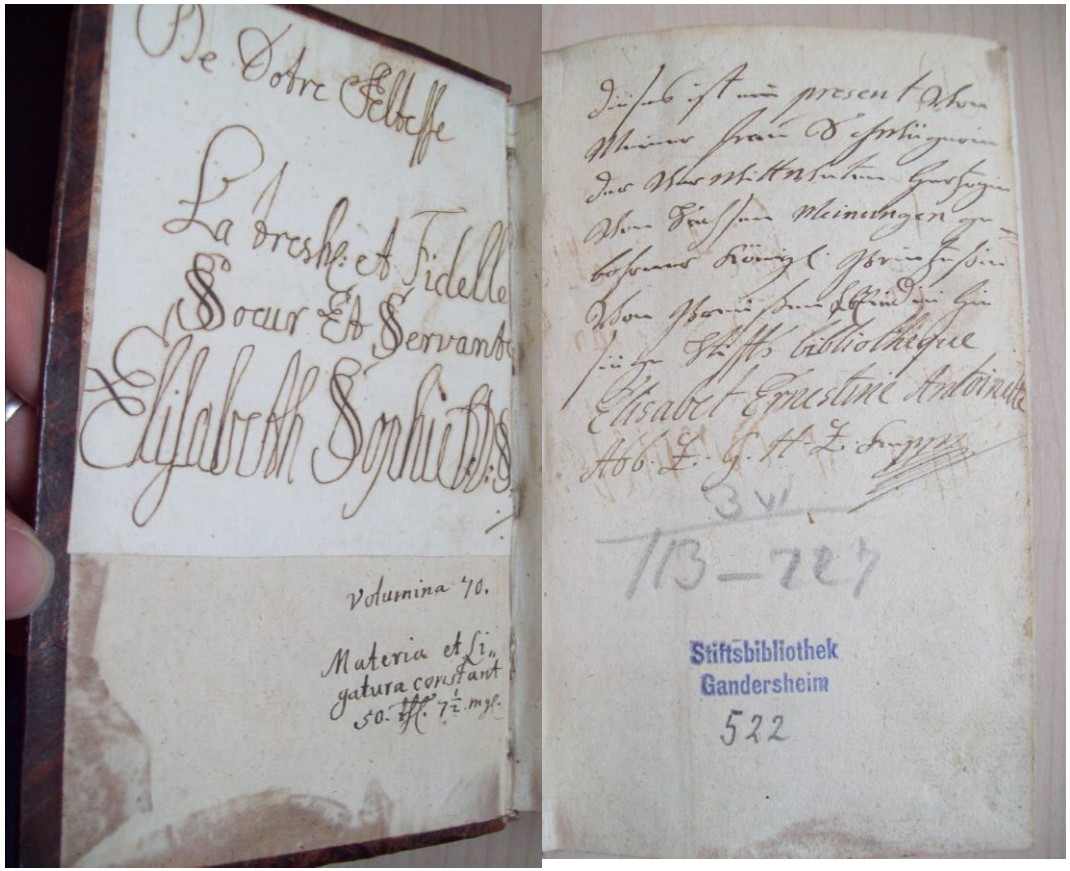


Figure 5: Breithaupt, Joachim Just. Letter to Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie of Sachsen-Meiningen. 7 May 1731. This letter accompanied the book *D. Joach. Just Breithaupts Drey Kreuß Predigten* (1724). Collection of the Bibliothek des Predigerseminars und der Landeskirche, Theologisches Zentrum and Predigerseminar der Ev.-luth. Landeskirche in Braunschweig. Stiftsbibliothek Gandersheim 483. Image by the author.

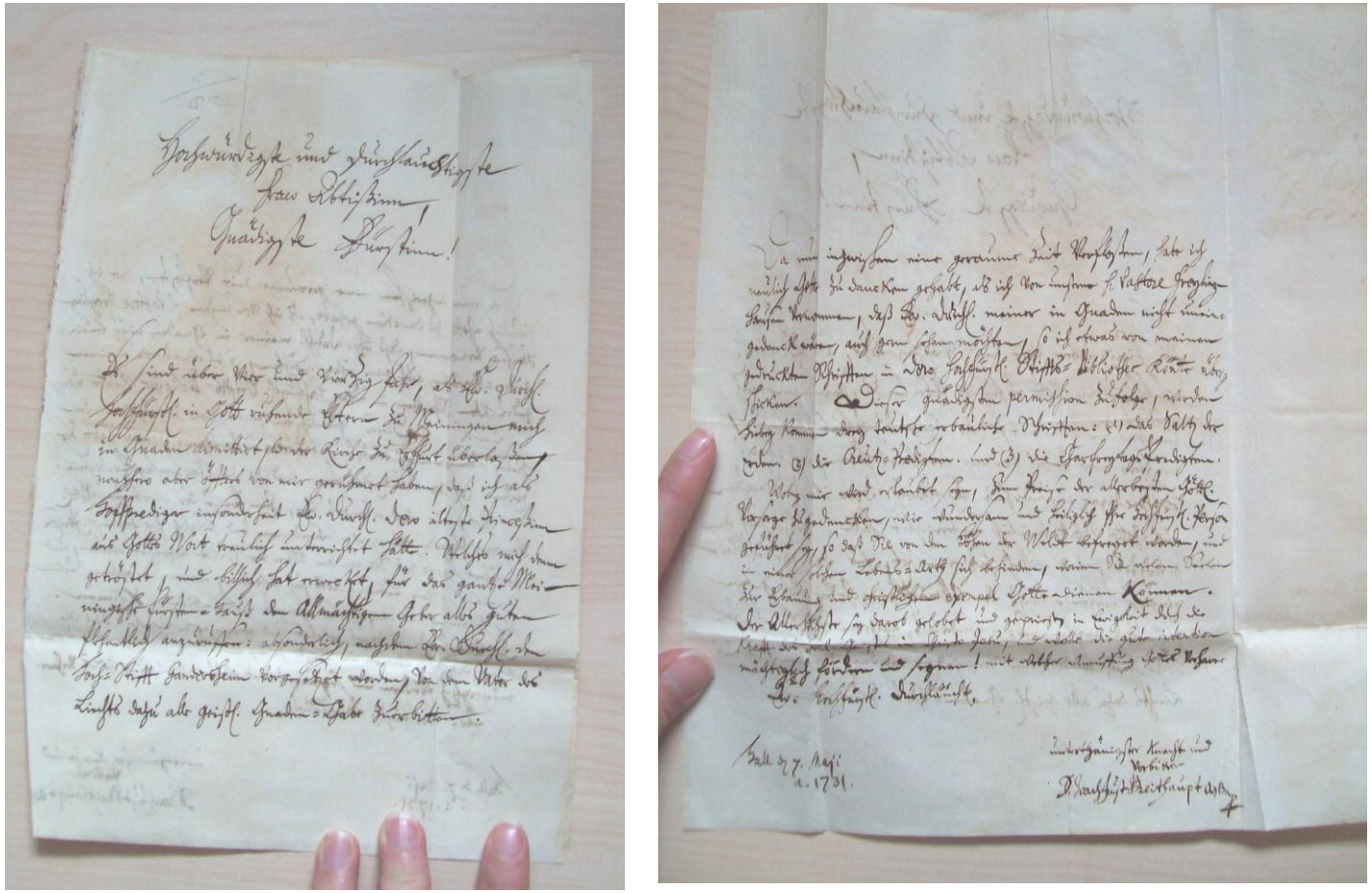


Figure 6: Elisabeth Ernestine Antonie's handwritten dedication in *D. Joach. Just Breithaupts Drey Kreuß Predigten* (1724). Collection of the Bibliothek des Predigerseminars und der Landeskirche, Theologisches Zentrum and Predigerseminar der Ev.-luth. Landeskirche in Braunschweig. Stiftsbibliothek Gandersheim 483. Image by the author.

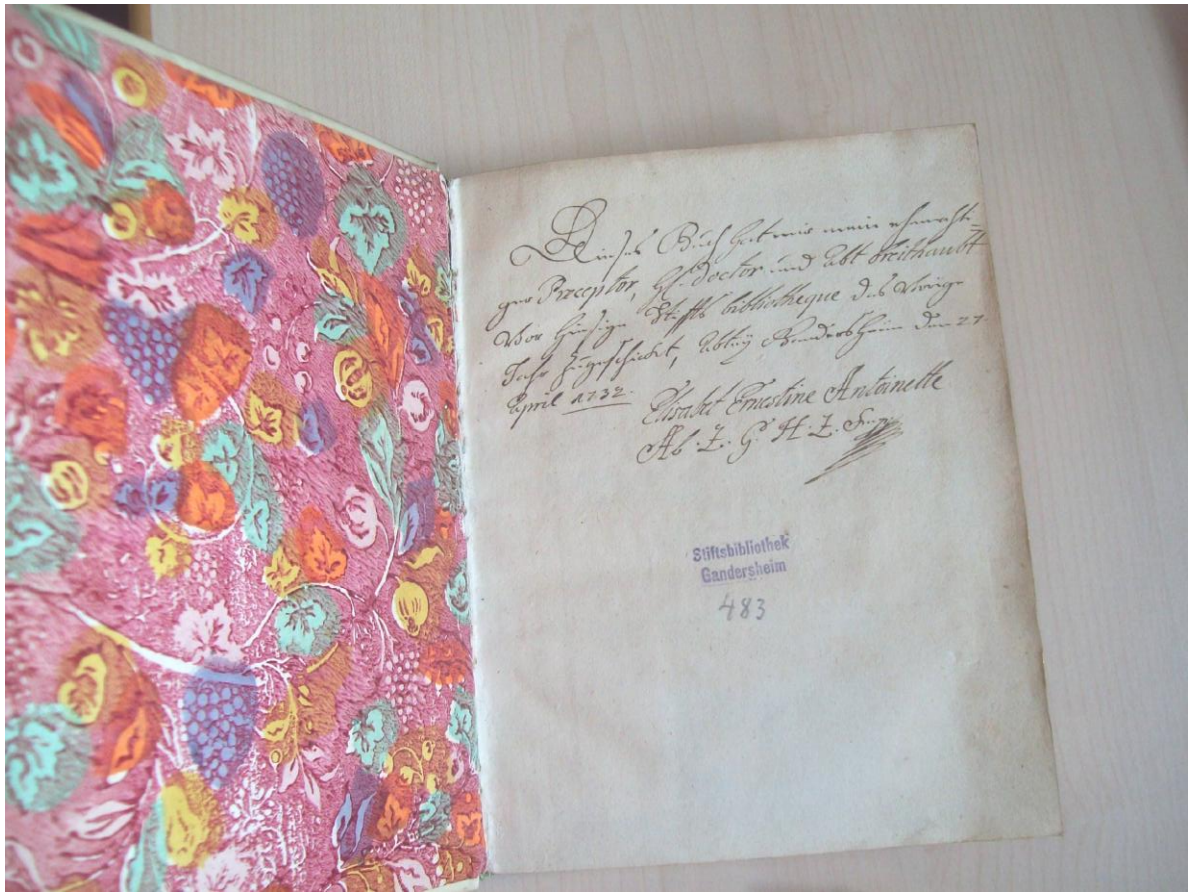


Figure 7: *Caroline Wilhelmina of Brandenburg-Ansbach when Princess of Wales.* George Vertue, after Sir Godfrey Kneller, engraving, 1724 (1716). © National Portrait Gallery, London. D18166.

Figure 8: *Princess Sophia, Electress of Hanover* by John Smith, possibly after Friedrich Wilhelm Weidemann. Mezzotint, 1706. © National Portrait Gallery, London. D9136.

Figure 9: Joam Ferreira a d'Almeida's handwritten dedication to Sophie of Hanover in *O Novo Testamento. Isto he, Todos os Sacrosanctos Livros e Escritos Euangelicos e Apostolicos do Novo Concerto De Nosso Fiel Senhor Salvador e Redemptor Jesu Christo* (Amsterdam: Crellius, 1712.) Collection of the Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek-Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek. Call number: T-A 6187. Image by the author.

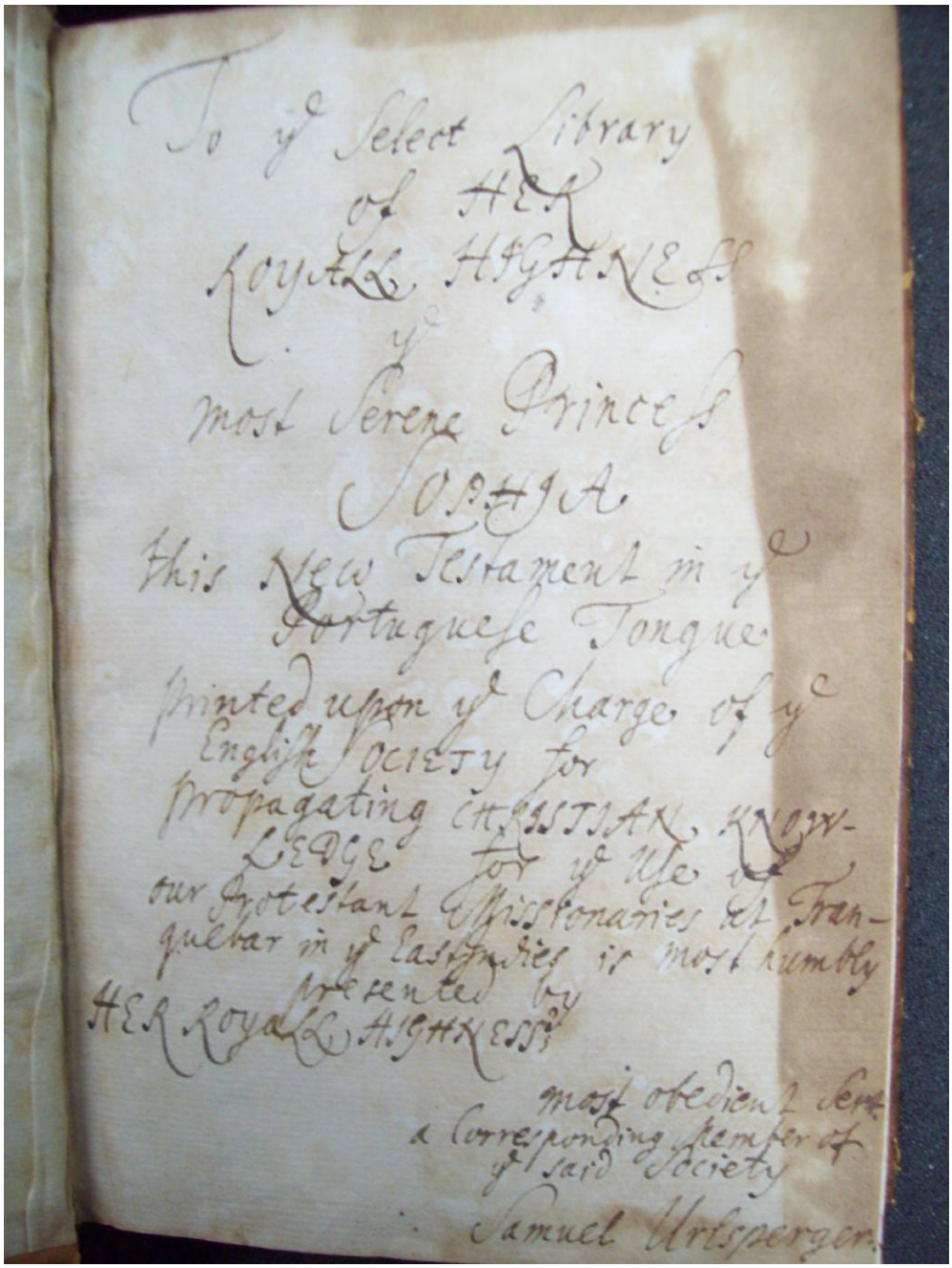


Figure 10: William Penn's handwritten dedication in *Some Fruits of Solitude, in Reflections and Maxims Relating to the Conduct of Human Life.* 7th ed. (London: Sowle, 1706.) Collection of the Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek-Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek. Call number: T-A 4786. Image by the author.

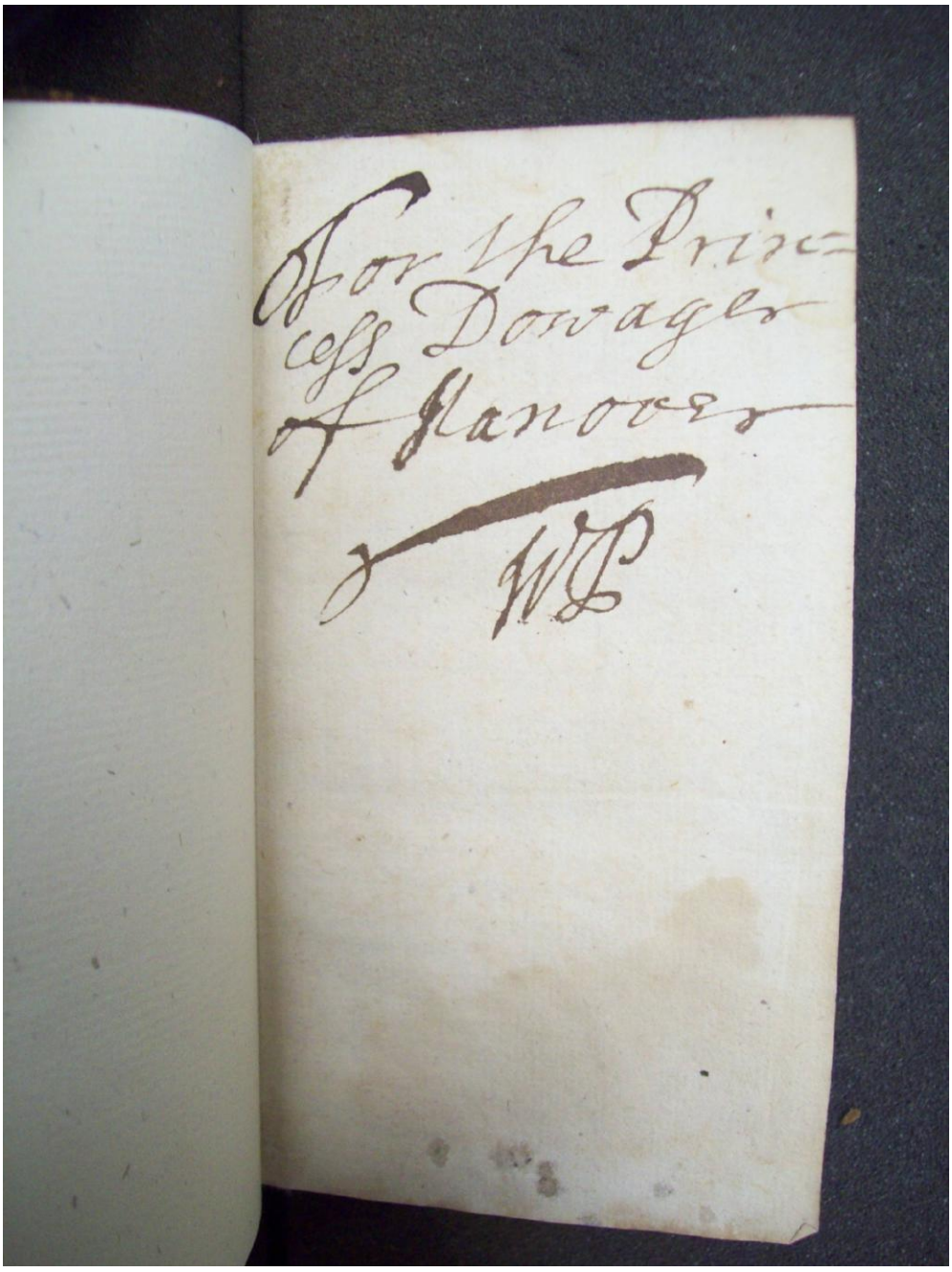


Figure 11: James Tyrrell's handwritten dedication in *The General History of England, Both Ecclesiastical and Civil. From the Earliest Accounts of Time, To the Reign of His Present Majesty, King William III.;* [...] Vol. 1. (London: Rogers; Harris; Knaplock, Bell; Cockerill, 1696.) Collection of the Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek-Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek. Call number: Gg-A 7098:1. Image by the author.

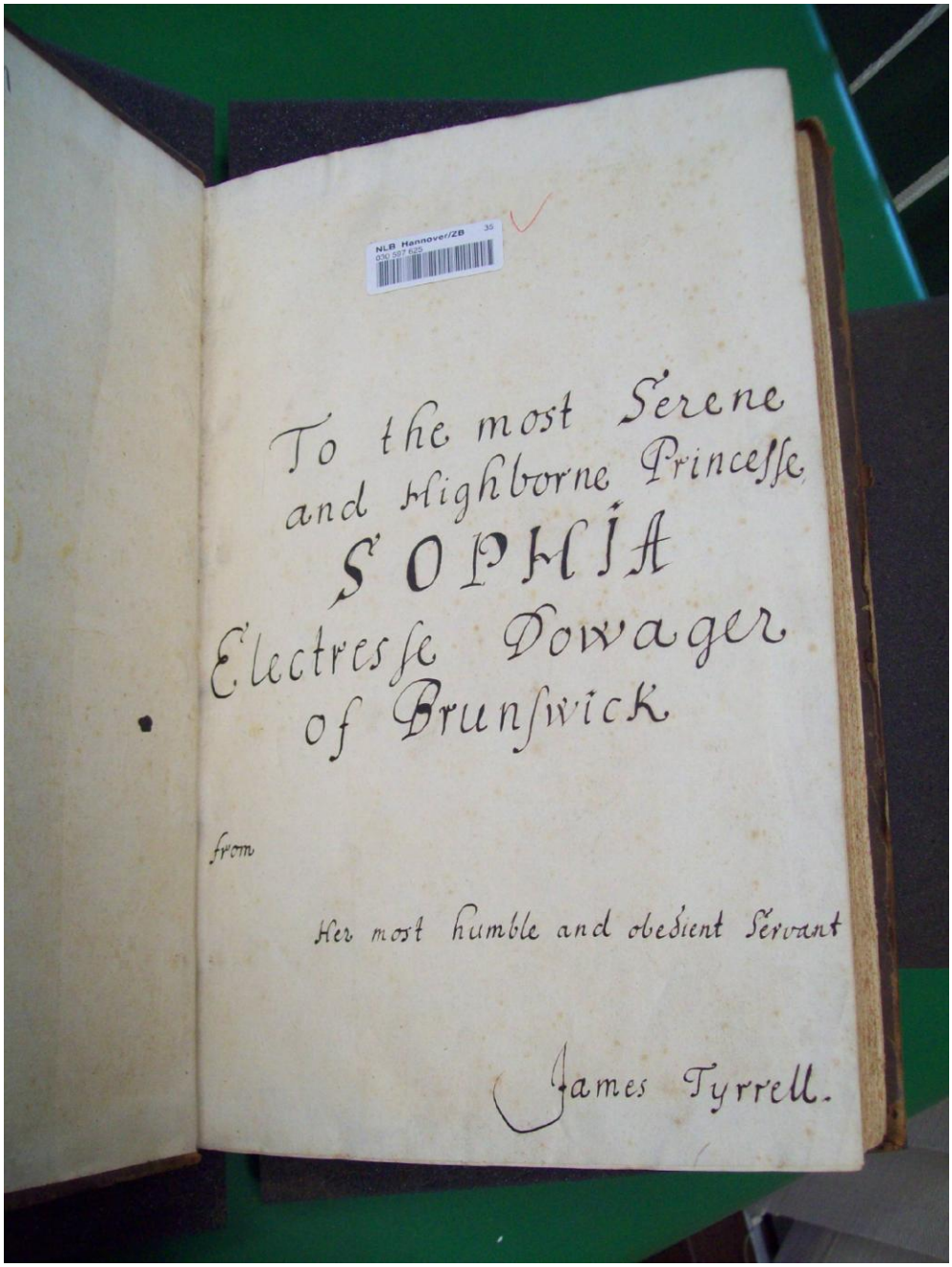


Figure 12: James Tyrrell's handwritten dedication in *The General History of England, Both Ecclesiastical and Civil. Containing the Reigns of King John, and King Henry the Third: Taken from the most Antient Records, Manuscripts, and Printed Historians.* (London: Rogers; Knaplock; Bell; Cockerill, 1700.) Collection of the Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek-Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek. Call number: Gg-A 7098:2,2. Image by the author.

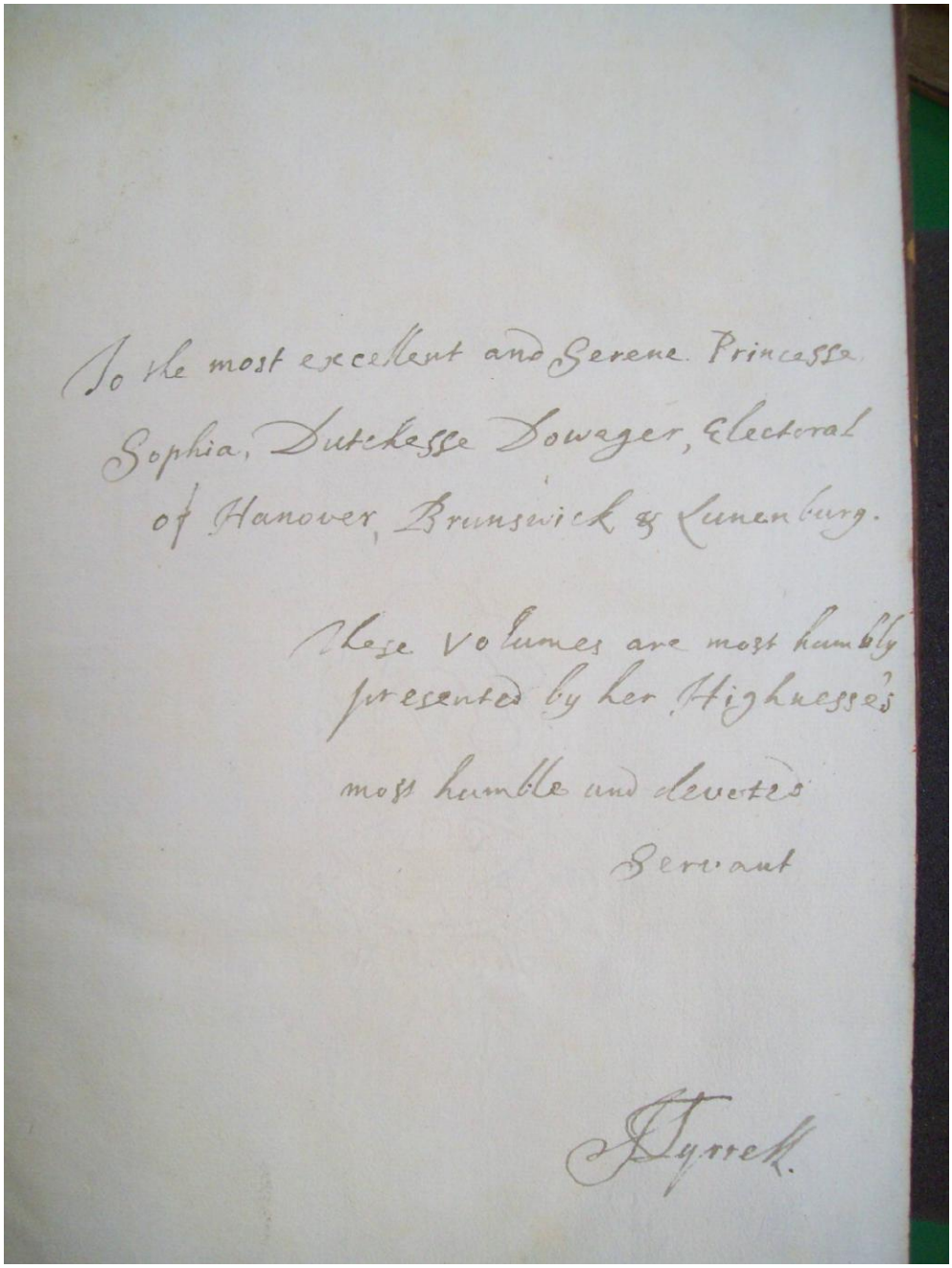
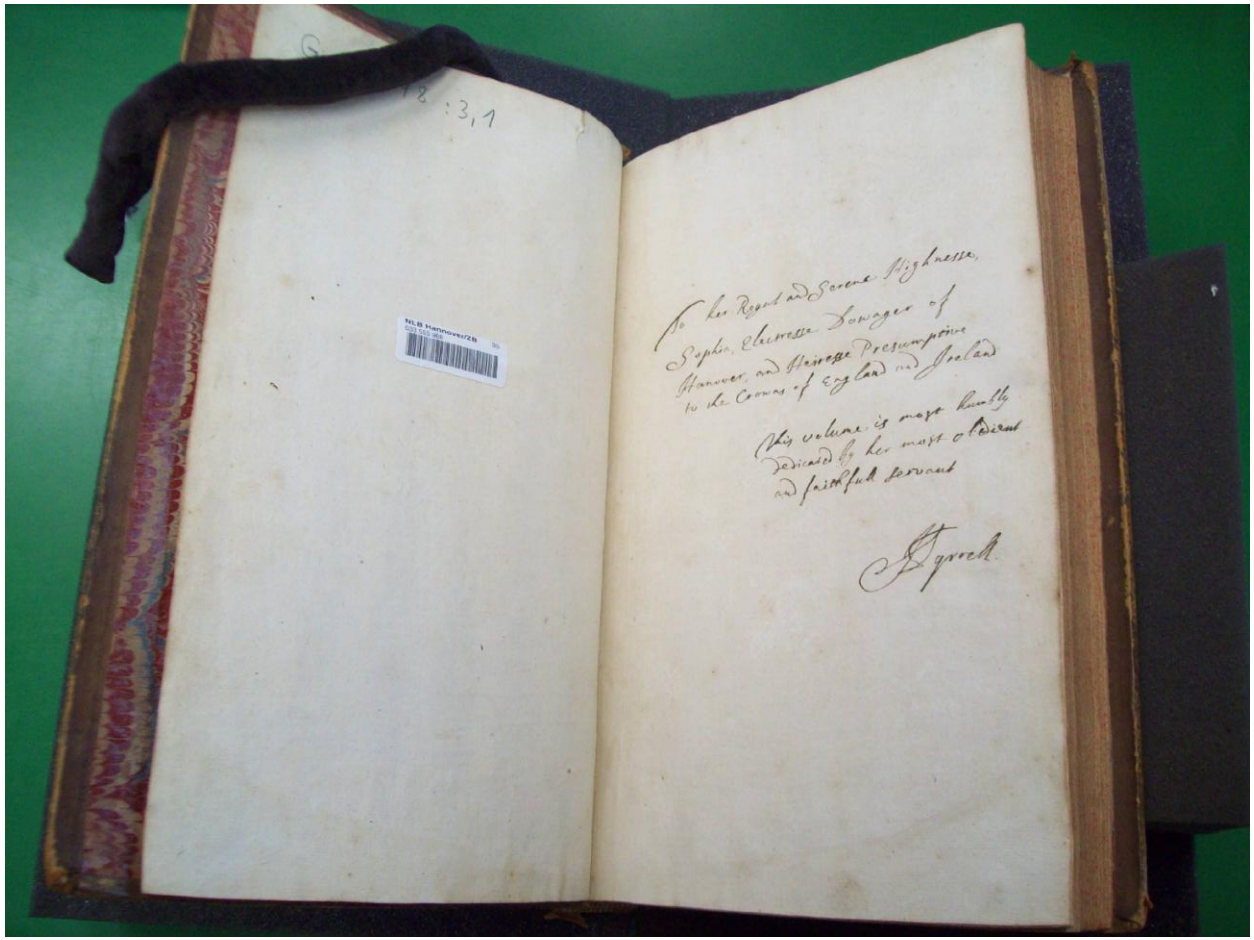


Figure 13: James Tyrrell's handwritten dedication in *The General History of England, Both Ecclesiastical and Civil. The Second Part of Volume III.: Containing the Reigns of Edward I, II, III, and Richard II. Taken from the most Antient Records, Manuscripts, and Printed Historians.* [...] (London: Rogers; Taylor; Sprint; Bell, 1704.) Collection of the Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek-Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek. Call number: Gg-A 7098:3,1. Image by the author.



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---. Handwritten dedication in Joachim Just Breithaupt, *D. Joach. Just Breithaupts, Abts und Gen. Superintend. Consist. Und Theol. Facult. Senioris, Drey Kreuß Predigten, In welchen Das Geheimniß des Creutzes/ als der einige Grund des wahren Christenthums, nach Anleitung der Heil. Passion erbaulich vorgetragen wird, Gehalten im Jahr Christi 1697. Nunmehro zum drittenmahl auffgeleget, Mit dazu kommenden Fünff Erläuterungs-Predigten, Die aus 1713. in der Fasten-Zeit gehalten sind, wodurch jene von einigen Mißdeutungen befreyet und gerettet werden; Nebst einer Genesungs-Predigt und drey Leich-Predigten.* Halle: In Verlegung des Wäysenhauses, 1724. Collection of the Bibliothek des Predigerseminars und der Landeskirche at the Theologisches Zentrum and Predigerseminar der Ev.-luth. Landeskirche in Braunschweig. Stiftsbibliothek Gandersheim 483.

---. Handwritten dedication in Anton Faber, *Europäische Staats-Canzley in sich haltend allerhand Nutzliche Staats-Justiz-Policey-Cameral-Militar-und andere uff Reichs- und Creys-Tägen passirte merckwürdige Materien samt vieler hohen potentaten Republic-quen und herrschafften curiosen Schrifften Ceremonialien und Propositionen den bevorstehenden Frieden betreffend Ausgefertigt und in gewisse Fasciculos eingetheilet nebst einem Anhange de Statu Poloniae durch Antonium Faßrum, Historigraphum. Gedruckt in Jahr Christin 1697.* [N.p.], 1697. Collection of the Bibliothek des Predigerseminars und der Landeskirche at the Theologisches Zentrum and Predigerseminar der Ev.-luth. Landeskirche in Braunschweig. Stiftsbibliothek Gandersheim 522.

---. Handwritten dedication in Nicolaus Christoph von Lyncker, *Rerum in SSeren. Ducum Saxoniae Dicasteriis Ienesibus Decisarum Centuriae XV ex Regestis et Cura Dn. Nicolai Christophori S.R.I. Bar. Lib. et Equitis de Lyncker*. 2nd ed. Jena: Ienæ Sumtibus Ioh. Felicis Bielckii, 1715-1720. Collection of the Bibliothek des Predigerseminars und der Landeskirche at the Theologisches Zentrum and Predigerseminar der Ev.-luth. Landeskirche in Braunschweig. Stiftsbibliothek Gandersheim 414.

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Als der Durchlauchtigste Fürst und Herz/ Herr August Wilhelm Regierender Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg 2c [etc] am Sophien=Tage Anno 1730. Als an dem hohen Nahmens=Tage Der Durchlauchtigsten Fürstin und Frauen/ Frauen Elisabeth Sophien Marien Herzogin zu Braunschweig und Lüneberg/ gebohrnen Erbin zu Norwegen/ Herzogin zu Schleswig Holstein/ Stormarn und Dittmarsen/ Gräfin zu Oldenburg und Delmenhorst 2c [etc]Drey hochadeliche Fräuleins/ als/ Fräul. Von Veltheim. Fräul. Von Dehn. Fräul. Von Schack. In das hochadeliche Stift Steterburg einführen liessen/ wurde auf gnädigsten Befehl folgende Cantata von der herzoglichen Capelle aufgeführt. Wolffenbüttel: Christian Bartsch, 1730.

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